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QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 520.—APRIL 1934.

Art. 1 .- A PROGRAMME OF LAW REFORM.

- Interim Report of the Business of the Courts Committee, 1933. Command 4265.
- 2. Second Interim Report of the Business of the Courts Committee, 1933. Command 4471.
- 3. In Quest of Justice, by Claud Mullins. Murray, 1931.
- The Lawbreaker, by the late E. Roy Calvert and Theodora Calvert. Routledge, 1933.

THE appointment by Lord Sankey on Dec. 9, 1932, of a Committee 'to consider the state of business in the Supreme Court' (popularly known as the Hanworth Committee) was received with mixed emotions. Inside the legal profession the majority tended to regard the Committee as the vagary of a popular and much esteemed, though somewhat mystifying, Lord Chancellor. On the other hand, those who are dissatisfied with the working of our legal machine, a minority in the legal profession but a considerable volume of opinion outside, welcomed the Committee, but criticised both its constitution and its limited terms of reference. All the eleven members of the Committee are lawyers; five are on the judicial Bench, three are practising barristers, two are lawyers in official administrative positions, and one, a solicitor, had recently been President of the Law Society. The terms of reference were so framed that there could be no searching inquiry into fundamentals. The matters referred to the Committee were important, but were mainly details of judicial administration. On most of these matters the Committee have now reported. In this article it is not Vol. 262 .- No. 520.

intended to summarise the reports—they are well worth reading in full—but rather to paint a picture of our general legal needs as I see them, bringing in the recommendations

of the Committee as they seem relevant.

In endeavouring thus to get the whole subject of legal reform into focus, the facts have to be faced at the outset that English lawyers as a whole are not interested in legal reform and that they never have been. constructive idea for legal reform has emanated in recent years from the organisations of the English Bar. There has been abundant criticism of the proposals of others, but no original suggestions. The four Inns of Court, recently described by Sir Frederick Pollock, K.C., as 'self-electing aristocratic bodies governed by strong professional traditions,'* have made no contribution to law reform, and the Bar Council (representing largely the circuit messes of the Bar, where post-prandial self-content results in extreme professional Torvism) has done little more than criticise. When the fairly drastic proposals for reform put forward by the London Chamber of Commerce were referred to the Bar Council by the Lord Chancellor, the 'Law Journal' naïvely admitted in an editorial † that 'the only way in which it touches the Bar is in the possible reduction of counsel's fees.' This seems a strange attitude, but unfortunately it is the way that the Bar organisations usually approach these big problems. When I read the long reports of American Bar Associations on legal reform, or come into contact with continental lawyers, I feel very conscious of the inertia shown by the authorities of the English Bar. This is all the more surprising because I know from personal contact that many high and low among English barristers share my eagerness for legal reform. Several have individually expressed strong opinions in public. The late Mr James Dickinson, K.C., stated in the 'Times' that 'every practising lawyer is aware that the public are rapidly losing faith in the present judicial system as a means of settling disputes.' and three days later he was supported in a letter in the same newspaper from Sir Norman Raeburn, K.C. But

^{* &#}x27;For My Grandson,' p. 153.

[†] Jan. 28, 1932.

t March 18, 1933.

barrister-reformers are given no lead and few can thus risk a challenge to the general professional opinion.

The fact that our Bench is drawn from practising barristers in mid-life, or sometimes later, has great advantages, but also the drawback that our Bench at all times tends to be legally conservative: so much so that a reformer on the Bench is usually lonely and has to steer very carefully to avoid criticism. As there was an article in this journal on the 'Judicial Bench and Reform' last July, this point need not be elaborated here. The Law Society, the organisation of the solicitors, has been a little more active than the Bar, but it seems to suffer from an inferiority complex, a relic perhaps of the days when Dr Johnson said: 'I would be loth to speak ill of any person who I do not know deserves it, but I am afraid he is an attorney.' One might expect that the Law Society would be in the vanguard of legal reform, for solicitors, unlike the Bench and the Bar, know the facts about the cost of litigation and how the cost prevents access to the courts. By their command of the Bar solicitors are in a position to secure reform. But so far they have achieved little.

To-day ideas are abroad connected with the administration of justice of which neither the Bench nor practising lawyers in this country seem to have heard. English lawyers generally seem to constitute a mutual admiration society, aloof from both the consumer in the law and from thinkers in legal science who are not practising lawyers. Emanating from this background, the Hanworth Committee have done fairly well and have earned the gratitude of the public. They have obviously restricted themselves to proposals which under present political conditions and having regard to the parliamentary time-table they think can reasonably be carried out without delay. These factors probably account for their apparent timidity on the subject of appeals and circuits which I will deal with later. It is, therefore, in no spirit of ingratitude that I say that, if all the proposals of the second report were carried out, they and the reforms already introduced as a result of the first report would not lessen the demand for legal reform. Civil litigation would still be far more costly than in any other country except the United States. There would still be fundamental defects in the

administration of the criminal law. The agitation for law reform must go on. As has been recently written * by so eminent and experienced a barrister as Mr Theobald Mathew, 'the litigant still has cause for grave complaint. There are not a few who think that the time has come for another full inquiry into the doings of the courts of law.' We cannot indefinitely continue on the method of the Hanworth Committee, wise though that method may perhaps be in existing circumstances. Professional inertia and the opposition of the organisations of the Bar will have to be faced. I confess my belief that the prestige in particular of Lord Sankey and Lord Hanworth, and also of Lord Wright and a number of others whom the public has not yet heard of as law reformers, is such that they could lead us considerably farther than they have yet done. And as for the difficulty in getting bold schemes of legal reform through Parliament, we should bear in mind that the present House of Commons passed without a division on Dec. 21, 1932, this resolution:

'That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that steps be taken to inquire into the defects in the system of law and legal procedure in England and Wales, and into the measures for removing these defects.'

What are our fundamental legal needs? I would briefly set them out as I see them, fully realising that in giving expression to my dreams I am limited by no parliamentary time-table. But ideas are what the legal world needs to-day, and, as I wrote in 'In Quest of Justice,' if my dreams are impracticable, let others come forward with better schemes to meet our needs.

1. First I would place the simplification of our law and the transfer as far as possible of the burden of law-making from the litigant. So far as the first point is concerned it will be useful to quote the publishers' advertisement of the 'English and Empire Digest,' which in forty-eight large volumes gives a précis of every judicial decision that is valid law. The publishers proudly maintain that these many volumes contain 'nearly three-quarters of a million cases' and that they 'all contain cases that may be and are used in the courts daily.' Surely by now a large proportion of these three-

^{* &#}x27;Nineteenth Century,' December 1933.

quarters of a million cases—each of them paid for by litigants-should have given way to codification. At times we are given hints that work in this direction is in progress. Thus Sir William Jowitt, K.C., when Attorney-General in 1931, told a City audience that the task 'of codifying, or at any rate simplifying, some topics of our law will not be overlooked.' But the public has not been informed as yet of any definite steps towards fresh codification of judge-made law. It is an old game to quote the words used by the King's Ministers before they accepted office, but we may reasonably hope that our present Solicitor-General, Sir Donald Somervell, K.C., will read the strong expressions on this subject used by Mr Somervell in the House of Commons on Dec. 21, 1932. But even the codification of large portions of judge-made law would not solve this problem so long as individual litigants have to bear the full burden of interpretation. In fact, as I pointed out in 'In Quest of Justice,' codification pure and simple might benefit lawyers more than the public. Lord Hailsham, in his preface to the new edition of the 'Laws of England,' writes of 'that endless embroidery of commentary and explanation with their resulting obscurity which is the normal fate of a code.' This must be so while every judicial decision is automatically a precedent for others and until we have fresh ways of settling disputed points. What we need alongside codification is some form of authority (like the Court of Cassation in France and the Judicial Council urged by the New York Bar Association) which will decide, apart from individual litigation, doubtful points in the law of general application, and also decide which judicial decisions shall be accepted as binding precedents. At present new authoritative decisions are being reported at the rate of about a thousand a year. The decisions as to the law of Workmen's Compensation (originally made so simple by Parliament) are perhaps the most glaring. Sir Frederick Pollock has recently written of the 'amorphous masses of inevitable but unprofitable decisions' on this subject, and even the legally-conservative 'Law Journal' has added its protest: 'There have been in our view far too many cases reported; the multiplicity of them tends to darken counsel.' *

^{*} Feb. 11, 1933.

The litigant should not be made to bear the burden of law-making where on points of general application his case is found to involve a point where statute law is either lacking or obscure. I have put forward the suggestion that a beginning might be made by allowing magistrates and County Court judges to state doubtful points of general application to the Court of Appeal independent of the parties. Twice I have been called on in a Police Court to decide such points and after much research I was satisfied that no law existed. Those who seek justice in a Police Court cannot afford the luxury of appeals and County Court litigants are seldom in a better position. The idea that our judges only decide legal points when individual cases are before them is deeply embedded in our legal system. But the rival idea that it is their function to lay down general legal principles apart from individual cases is also incorporated in our legal constitution, and our need now is to revive and modernise the method by which this can be done. As a great American judge has written: 'More and more we are looking to the scholar in his study, to the jurist rather than to the judge or lawyer for inspiration and for guidance.' * It should be for the judges to consider the views of jurists and scholars and thereafter to lay down general principles. An interesting innovation has recently been made by Lord Sankey in his appointment of a strong standing committee of judges, practising lawyers and jurists to advise him whether certain well-established legal principles 'may from time to time require revision in modern conditions.' This is all to the good, though we may doubt whether only lawyers should consider the suitability of legal doctrines and whether only men should consider the legal position of married women. The first batch of principles selected are not legally in doubt and the conclusions of the Committee will not be valid until made the subject of legislation. Our prime need is that as far as possible the burden of solving points of general importance that are legally in doubt should be settled in this way, namely apart from the litigant.

Secondly comes the problem of our appellate system.This problem is, as I urged in 'In Quest of Justice,'

^{*} Judge Cardozo in 'The Growth of the Law,' p. 11.

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largely dependent on those just discussed. So long as we look solely to ordinary litigation for law-making (apart from legislation), it may well be argued that at least a double appeal should be available in all cases; otherwise we risk having much doubtful law. But if we could have some such machinery for the definition of law as has been suggested above, a single appeal would meet all our needs. If the proposal of the Hanworth Committee to place restrictions upon appeals to the House of Lords is carried out under existing conditions, I fear that leave to appeal a second time will have to be given frequently. The Hanworth Committee reported that they were 'concerned to reduce the number of appeals' and have made some valuable recommendations to this effect. Their main objects were 'to diminish appeals by allowing two at most,' but their recommendations do not fully carry out this limited ambition. It will still be possible for a rating case to be heard four times-Assessment Committee. Quarter Sessions, Court of Appeal and House The question of allowing more than one appeal seems to me of far greater importance than the recommendation of the Committee that the Court of Appeal should eventually consist of the High Court judges, a reversion to the principle in force before the Judicature Acts of 1873-76. The scheme suggested in 'In Quest of Justice 'was that appeals to the House of Lords should be abolished, that the legal members of that House and the members of the Court of Appeal should divide themselves into those who prefer strictly appellate work (which would be done in the Court of Appeal), and those who would be prepared to devote themselves in the House of Lords to do the work of co-ordinating and amplifying private law as developed by the judges and that such work should be the main legal function of the House of Lords, that House becoming in fact our Court of Cassation or Judicial Council. To some such scheme I believe we shall ultimately come, though the time may not be yet. But I greatly hope that when the Hanworth proposals are on the Parliamentary anvil some effort will be made to widen them in the direction of a single appeal. Lord Tomlin and Sir Norman Raeburn, K.C., are among those who favour this step. The latter in the letter to the 'Times' already quoted, went so far as to say: 'I have no hesitation

in saying from my own personal experience that many a litigant is deterred from trying to obtain his rights by the nightmare of an eventual enforced excursion to the House of Lords, and I am convinced that there is not a single leading member of the Bar who would not confirm me in this.' These are strong words from one who on another

point is a stout critic of the Hanworth Committee.

3. Then come the questions of transferring work from High Court judges, and the absorption of County Courts into the general machinery of justice, as was recommended by the Judicial Commission of 1872. The latter step is supported by the 'Law Journal,' which on Jan. 15 last declared that 'the High Court and the County Court should be treated as parts of a general scheme for the administration of civil justice and its due sphere assigned to each.' In these last words of the quotation lies the practical difficulty. At present the County Court limit is a hundred pounds and any proposal to raise that limit arouses the intense opposition of the Bar Council. But during the seventeen years' struggle to secure County Courts that ended in 1846 the Bar opposed the scheme, and in 1903, when the limit was raised from 50l. to 100l., the opposition of the Bar was persistent. Lord Merrivale (then Mr Duke, M.P.) said that to raise the limit would practically wreck the ancient system of the administration of civil justice in this country,' and the then Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, said that he did not 'entertain the smallest doubt' that the scheme was 'quite unworkable.' But it has worked very well. Why, therefore, should much attention be given to the resolution passed on May 5, 1933, by the Bar Council that it would 'view with grave concern' any extension of County Court jurisdiction? Lord Sankey in the House of Lords on Feb. 6 last made somewhat similar statements regarding the further increase of jurisdiction. The most strange arguments are put forward in opposition to this proposal. As soon as the very modest proposal of the Hanworth Committee (that County Courts should try cases up to 2001. if the High Court sent them there) was published, the 'Law Journal' * published in big type an article which said: 'Every one who knows anything about the County

^{*} Dec. 30, 1933.

Courts is aware that the judges are already overworked.' That happens to be a statement which can be checked, for County Court judges are the only occupants of the Bench about whom we have official statistics showing the number of days worked. The following figures are taken from 'Civil Judicial Statistics': 146 days in court per judge in 1929, 148.7 days in 1930, 144.5 in 1931 and 145.3 in Obviously, therefore, the County Court Bench could cope with more work. To quote again Sir Norman Raeburn, K.C.: 'There appears to be no reason whatsoever why their jurisdiction should not be increased at least up to 500l.' The Hanworth Committee took much evidence on this point and reported that 'this testimony may be summarised as favourable to the extension of the jurisdiction of the County Courts beyond the limit of 1001.' But, somewhat unconvincingly, the Committee rejected the proposal, with the exception stated above.

Another objection raised by the Bar Council is that to extend the jurisdiction would 'prejudice the administration of the County Courts as they at present exist.' It is difficult to see why this should be the result. In Scotland the Sheriff holds four separate courts: (1) the Ordinary Court for claims over 50l. up to any amount. (2) the Summary Court for actions between 201. and 501.. (3) the Small Debt Court for claims less than 201., and also (4) a Summary Criminal Court, Scotland not having our system of separating Police Courts from County Courts. If a Sheriff in Scotland can do this, why cannot an English County Court judge hold three kinds of civil courts at different times? It would be a great reform if outside London (where the presence of the High Court makes the conditions special) all civil actions could begin in the County Court, just as all criminal trials begin in the Police Court, and if the County Court judges could be given power to try all cases up to 500l. unless either the parties consented to, or the High Court ordered, their transfer to the Assizes. On each County Court circuit one or more of the principal courts would take the bigger cases and the judges' days would be divided, as in Scotland. between the different classes of cases. With such a division the smaller type of litigant would not be prejudiced.

It cannot be disputed that (1) although County Court

procedure is at present unnecessarily cumbrous and expensive, it is far cheaper than procedure in the High Court, or that (2) to-day much of the time of High Court judges is spent in work that is below their capacity. It sometimes happens that half the civil cases before a High Court judge are claims arising out of motor accidents. On Oct. 27, 1933, the 'Times' recorded a strong protest against this waste of time by Mr Justice Charles. are County Courts available for these accident cases,' said the learned judge. 'The time of the High Court is being wasted in the most wicked way.' Not only does the trial of these cases by High Court judges involve a waste of valuable time, it also necessitates a waste of valuable money. 120l. in costs on each side is an average estimate for an accident case in the High Court. The cost in the County Court would be about 60l. each side, and could be considerably less if the procedure were made as simple as Police Court procedure. Both on grounds of cost and convenience the public would be better served if

more use were made of our County Courts.

4. The problems just discussed have an important bearing on the circuit system. Probably one of the reasons why County Courts have never been popular with organised opinion at the Bar (though to-day most young barristers owe their professional start to them) has been that they have never formed part of the circuit system. All County Courts are open to all barristers and to solicitors as well. But every circuit has a number of out-of-date customs limiting the right of audience in court. The Bar is, as I have said, at its most conservative in the circuit messes. It is possible to set a circuit Bar mess talking for weeks, and even to arouse passions, on such a question as whether an ex-law officer is entitled to practise on his old circuit without a 'special' fee. This spirit in the circuit Bar works in with a feeling of local patriotism among holders of feudal offices in the counties. Both combine to resist change in the circuits of High Court judges. But the time has come to measure up these conservative loyalties and to insist upon more efficiency in the local administration of justice. Hanworth Committee tell us that the official estimate of the aggregate number of days on which High Court judges would be away from London on circuit was not

exceeding 700 and that it is now 1315. As a result London work in the King's Bench Division is almost

permanently in arrear.

The crux of this problem is the historic belief that it is good for public morals, as well as flattering to local patriotism, to have a periodic visit from the 'Red Judge' with all the display that his visit involves. I too was brought up to believe this, but my ideas about legal ceremonial have changed as a result of nearly three years' work in a Police Court, where dignity reigns not because of robes or trumpeters, but because of a long record of humane and cheap justice. I have come to doubt whether the ceremonial on circuit is any more necessary to the dignity of a judge than is the Lord Mayor's Show to the dignity of the Lord Mayor. But even accepting the traditional idea, Lord Wright truly says that the influence of ceremonial is 'more strikingly exercised at big Assizes, where the business to be done is worthy of the ceremonial, and not at the majority of the 56 towns which enjoy it now.' Is it not derogatory to judicial dignity to send a judge to a small town mainly because local dignitaries and the circuit Bar desire a Jamboree? Or to send a judge to Kingston-on-Thames or Hertford, necessitating expensive local accommodation for him, when his home and the homes of all concerned are within an hour's distance? The Hanworth Committee made very modest proposals for saving time here and there, but Lord Wright has put forward the true remedy. Towns like Bristol, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Liverpool and Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, etc., should be the Assize towns for large areas; the local patriotism of small towns must give way to the efficiency of the judicial system and the work of the home counties should be conducted in London.

5. Then comes the problem of the further simplification of civil procedure in all courts and the relaxation of the laws of evidence in most kinds of civil action. Much has recently been done in the High Court, thanks to the Hanworth Committee, but too many of the reforms are left to the voluntary choice of practitioners and no changes have been suggested for the County Courts beyond raising the limit of the Registrar's jurisdiction from 5l. to 10l. The simplicity, speed and cheapness of the Police Courts is not confined to their criminal work, but is characteristic

also of their civil work. In some spheres, Rent Restriction Acts for instance, Police Courts and County Courts have up to a point concurrent jurisdiction, but their respective methods of handling the cases are in marked contrast. When in a debate in the House of Lords on July 5, 1933, the point was made in criticism of the County Courts that Police Courts try accident cases (involving perhaps imprisonment or a life suspension of licence) far more cheaply than can County Courts (where only up to 100l., ordinarily paid by an insurance company, can be in dispute), the Lord Chancellor replied that the explanation lay in the fact that the 'prosecution is usually undertaken by some public authority,' and that this 'is a guarantee that the charge will be honestly presented.' But 'in the County Court any one may commence proceedings, and it follows that there is nothing to stop at the outset the wildest claims being put forward by mistake or from bad motives.' This is, of course, true, but it is scarcely conclusive. No court in the country has a more difficult task than the ascertainment of paternity in a disputed bastardy case, at least a weekly event at North London Police Court. Here there is every possibility of 'mistake' or 'bad motive' in the complainant. Yet we try these cases without any legal rigmaroles-no pleadings explaining the respective cases on paper, no 'particulars' giving details of allegations to be made, usually no previous disclosure of correspondence, no 'advice on evidence' and often no lawvers at all. And the costs seldom exceed five guineas. When I think back at my experience at the County Court Bar and as deputy County Court judge, I am both proud of Police Court methods and convinced that a great simplification of civil procedure, especially in the County Court, is possible.

6. It is not necessary here to enter into the merits of the Hanworth Committee's proposals about dissolving the anomalous Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division. The criticisms that those proposals have met with reveal

the inherent conservatism of the Bar.

The matrimonial jurisdiction of the High Court urgently needs to be overhauled. When divorce by court decree was instituted in 1857, the problems were vastly different from those of to-day, but we have continued with the same machinery and the same methods. From

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1857 to 1900 the average number of Decrees Nisi for dissolution of marriage rose slowly from about 200 to 500 a year. Up to 1912 the annual average was about 660. In 1932 there were 3925. Until the Great War it was rare that poor people obtained divorce, but now, thanks to the Poor Person's Rules and to the generosity of the legal profession, a substantial beginning has been made. There were 5320 applications under these rules in High Court matrimonial cases in 1932. But a procedure suitable for people who have lawvers to advise them and who would be likely to resent advice from a court is not suitable for poor people. As one whose daily work includes the adjudication of domestic disputes and who takes an intense interest in this work. I am seriously disturbed at the present position in regard to divorce. No machinery exists in the High Court for examining into the real facts of the marriage and no attempts are made to reconcile the unhappy parties. The big majority of divorce cases (3521 out of 3980 in 1932) are undefended, which means that the judge sees only one of the parties, and that the case lasts but a few minutes. The courts confine themselves to a purely legal point-has adultery been proved according to law? We in the Police Courts handle matrimonial disputes very differently. Our methods could be greatly improved, but at least we have court missionaries to help investigate and put right the trouble, and we succeed in preventing countless homes from being broken up. With a better technique for hearing these cases we could considerably increase the number of reconciliations. The poor are susceptible to advice, and it seems alarming to me that the High Court handles their domestic difficulties just as it did those of the rich who monopolised the court in Victorian days. this respect the question raised by the Hanworth Committee whether divorce shall or shall not be part of the work of the King's Bench Division seems trivial. The main question, as it seems to me, is whether High Court judges ought to have a monopoly of divorce cases at all. For the masses of our people the settlement of domestic disputes ought not to be regarded necessarily as matters of litigation, and should not be dealt with solely by lawyers. My own opinion is that when the domestic procedure of Police Courts is remodelled, as I am convinced it will be.

magistrates with the assistance of religious and social workers, and with medical help where necessary, will be a far safer tribunal to handle divorce for the masses than the High Court. That may be too revolutionary a suggestion, but as the number of 'poor persons' in the Divorce Court increases, I am convinced that our present methods in that court will constitute an increasing menace to the Christian standard of marriage, and that some other court of a lower status and with more time

for each case should take over the task.

7. Lastly, but equal in importance to any of the above, comes a problem relating to the administration of the criminal law. We have every reason to be proud of our system of criminal trial. But our whole system of criminal trial needs to be re-examined from the point of view discussed in this review last October in an article entitled 'After the Verdict.' It is not enough that a person accused of crime should have the fairest trial possible. We of the twentieth century are learning that there is a science of dealing with those found guilty which needs to be studied like other sciences. Yet our criminal courts are based on the assumption that it requires no special training to deal with law-breakers when found guilty and that commonsense and experience of life are all that is necessary. A study of the science of penology forms no part of the equipment of the Bar or Bench. Judges, Recorders and professional magistrates do not necessarily know more about it on their appointment than do lav justices.

The Judicature Acts of 1873-76 were based on the assumption that any High Court judge, no matter what his experience at the Bar had been, was fully competent both to try and to sentence law-breakers. Mr Theobald Mathew in his article already quoted has described some

of the results:

'The trying and sentencing of a prisoner for stealing a pair of boots involved, in the opinion of Lord Cairns and Lord Selborne, no great intellectual strain. But strange stories began to be told when Equity judges and the judges of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division began to deliver Her Majesty's gaols. One, determined to stamp out crime, thought that malefactors would be deterred if he were to pass in every case the maximum sentence allowed by the law. Another, summing up in a murder trial, dwelt upon the significance of the evidence that the prisoner had requested his wife, on the morning after the crime had been committed, to hand him his bloody shirt. The same learned judge, having heard from the constable that the alleged burglar had greeted him in a back garden at 1 a.m. with the words "Hullo, Robert, so early in the morning!" commented to the jury upon the fact that the accused was familiar not only with the Christian name but also with the ordinary habits of the police officer, for he had expressed surprise at finding him abroad when the day was so little advanced. A judge of Admiralty training expressed the opinion that a verdict of "guilty but insane" amounted to an acquittal, and was with difficulty prevented from releasing the prisoner. Such are the legends which have been handed down to posterity.'

In 1884 it was decided that only the judges of the Common Law Courts should try and sentence law-breakers, and this principle has been acted on ever since. But plenty of Common Law judges to-day have rarely, if ever, been concerned with law-breakers during their careers at the Bar. Both Mr Mathew and I could quote legends of to-day that are little different from those 'which have been handed down to posterity' from the

past.

When we come to the courts that are midway in the hierarchy of criminal trials, namely Quarter Sessions, this question becomes even more acute. In many boroughs Quarter Sessions are ordinarily presided over by a Recorder, a practising barrister who visits his borough quarterly if there is work to be done. Plenty of Recorders are on their appointment as inexperienced of the criminal law as are Chancery or Admiralty judges. Some of them spend their professional lives amid the problems of Local Government. Income Tax law or other problems of the law-abiding. In the less populated areas not only are the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of Quarter Sessions not expected to study penology, but they have not necessarily any legal experience or knowledge. According to the second Hanworth Report, 71 out of 122 Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen have been 'trained in the law,' but often such training was a long time ago and has not been supplemented by practical legal work. But they have as much power as a Recorder and far more than any professional magistrate.

The time will come, I think, when all engaged in trying and sentencing law-breakers will have had some training in the wise handling of delinquents. It will be demanded of all on the criminal Bench, from the highest to the lowest, and of all lay magistrates who wish to take part in the criminal work of Police Courts, that they shall in one way or another fortify themselves on their appointment and before they begin judicial work with some knowledge of penology. It might be wise that every legal student should study penology; in the Scots Universities Forensic Medicine is an optional subject taken by a great many legal students. Whether Lord Atkin's Committee on legal education in England is considering these possibilities I do not know, but even more valuable than training in penology at the outset of a legal career would be time devoted to the subject at the outset of a judicial career. Those on the Bench, from High Court judge to Justice of the Peace, can never be experts in penology, and it is not desirable that they should be. But all should visit, and, what is more important, know what goes on in, prisons, Borstals, Remand Homes, Approved Schools and so on, be familiar with the work and problems of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and Police Court Missions, have some knowledge of the history of penal methods and of the latest works in medical jurisprudence and medical psychology. An interval between appointment and actual judicial work could be arranged to enable judges. Recorders, professional magistrates and the great unpaid' to acquire this minimum knowledge. Common-sense, experience of life and a humane outlook (for all of which our Bench is noted) are not enough to-day. The suggestion I make that all on the Bench should have some training in penology may sound Utopian, but I believe I shall live to see it carried out and, were it carried out as it already has been in Holland, the effect on the administration of our criminal law would be immediate.

Once we begin to value an acquaintance with penology as an indispensable asset on the Bench, other changes will come. There will be a fuller inquiry into the law-breaker between verdict and sentence, and prison governors and medical officers and probation officers will have a right to submit reports, and even to suggest sentences, to the Bench. For these inquiries and the submission of

such reports more time between verdict and sentence will be necessary. The weakest feature of our present circuit system and the system of appointing practising barristers as Recorders is that neither allows adequate time (often no time) for the investigation into the lawbreaker's present condition and past development. This weakness was fully discussed in the article in this journal last October, so little need be said here. Recidivism will never be checked until there is a fuller examination into the potential recidivist in his earlier stages. To-day the High Court judge proceeding in state from one town to another must usually dispose finally in each town of the law-breakers whom he has found guilty. Similarly, when the Recorder interrupts his practice to hold the Sessions in his borough, he expects to dispose finally of all his cases before his return, which is often on the same day as his arrival. This system allows no time for the proper study of the delinquent and it is not fair to the accused that full inquiries should be made before his conviction. The remedies seem to be (1) the further concentration of criminal work on the lines of Lord Wright's memorandum. so that more days may be spent in fewer towns, and (2) if Quarter Sessions are to be retained, the appointment of full-time Recorders serving many towns, similarly grouped, so that there may be adequate time for investigation.

Under these seven heads I have outlined a vast programme of legal reform, not in the expectation that early changes will be made, but in order to stimulate thought and discussion. In doing so one thought encourages me. When I wrote 'In Quest of Justice' I had vague visions that some of the problems discussed might be tackled in my old age, but already many of them have been put right. It is less than three years since I was practising at the Bar, but in the unlikely event of my return I should have to go to school again, so considerable have been the changes that have come over our system, thanks in large measure to Lord Hanworth and his colleagues. It is my sincere belief that in the future changes will come even more rapidly, and I believe that, given a lead, the historic attitude of hostility to reform which characterises the Bar could be modified, greatly to its own as well as to the public advantage.

CLAUD MULLINS.

Art. 2.—BYRON AND THE GUICCIOLI.

'A stranger loves a lady of the land, Born far beyond the mountains, but his blood Is all meridian. . . .'

THE lady was Teresa, Countess Guiccioli; the stranger Lord Byron, and the love affair, which in their day formed the subject of so much gossip, soon became a legend, like the loves of greater poets, so that only a few years later Alfred de Musset could write, in 'Mardoche,'

'Blonds cheveux, sourcils bruns, front vermeil ou pâli, Dante aimait Béatrix—Byron la Guiccioli.'

The facts are well known, and a first glance at the 'Memorie della Famiglia Guiccioli,' edited by Signor Annibale Alberti and first published in the 'Nuova Antologia' (August to November 1932), conveys an impression that they do not add much to our knowledge. But they give a new point of view—the point of view of the Guiccioli family—and throw sidelights on the characters of those concerned. In these memoirs the Byronic episode is told incidentally and the interest flags towards the end. Yet future biographers of Byron will have to take account of the material now placed at their disposal and perhaps modify some of their judgments in

consequence.

The memoirs will shortly appear in book form in Bologna. They consist of a brief history of the Guiccioli family, followed by a diary, beginning in 1874, which is not given in its entirety. The personality of the author and diarist is of some interest to those who would appreciate the character of his book. He was the grandson of Teresa Guiccioli's husband and, like him, was called Alessandro. He, too, was an aristocrat of the old Venetian type and as such resented, a century after the event, 'the painful notoriety' caused by the liaison between Lord Byron and the lady who bore the Guicciolis' name. Again, like his grandfather, the author of the memoirs took an active part in public life, entering the Italian diplomatic service as Attaché in London. In those first years of his public career he acquired that mental outlook which is supposed to be characteristic of diplomats of the school of Talleyrand and Metternich, a type which our more advanced generation smiles at and

admires. Later he became Syndic of Rome and Prefect of Florence and of Turin, but he ended his public life, as he had begun it, in diplomacy, as Ambassador to Japan. His wife was a Countess Benckendorff, sister to the Grand Maréchal at the Court of Petersburg and to the Russian Ambassador in London. It is natural that such a man should consider the famous love episode in his family history from an angle different from that of the professional

biographer.

Alessandro Guiccioli the elder, grandfather to the diarist, was nearing his sixtieth year when, in January 1818, he married the seventeen-year old daughter of his friend, Count Ruggero Gamba, who, like the bridegroom. had his family headquarters in Rayenna. This was old Guiccioli's third matrimonial venture. His second wife had died a year before, leaving seven children. The boys were sent to a school for the sons of noblemen, the daughters entrusted to the Salesian nuns of Santa Chiara in Venice—just as Byron entrusted his little daughter, Allegra, to the Salesian nuns at Bagnocavallo. The first meeting between Allesandro Guiccioli and his future bride occurred in Count Gamba's house. The question of a marriage having been discussed between the two old cronies, the girl was sent for. Guiccioli was getting short-sighted; the room was somewhat dark. So he took up a candle and walked round her to see her better, very much, as his grandson observes, 'as if he were buying a piece of furniture.' Notwithstanding this prosaic beginning of her courtship, Teresa was by no means averse to the marriage. She was one of many brothers and sisters in a family not overburdened with wealth, and in those days girls looked forward to matrimony as the only means of escape from a life of restraint and boredom. Despite his age Guiccioli was fine-looking. living in considerable state, cultured and pleasant to talk In the first months of her married life Teresa appeared brimful of happiness; she sparkled, she effervesced. A letter of hers to her husband, who had been obliged to leave her for a few days, begins:

Pesaro, July 17, 1818.

^{&#}x27;My adorable Spouse and Friend, You are all my soul, the greatest happiness that I have on earth, and without you I feel that I could not live. . . .'

[The letter goes on to say that next Sunday the Opera would begin at Sinigaglia, and the Fiera (market) on Monday.]

'The evenings here pass very languidly; some small outing and then conversation with old people and priests.

'I have still the five scudi you gave me, and I hope that

on your return you will be pleased at my economy.

'My cough is quite gone, without need of medicines. And you, my Dear, be careful of the scirocco in Rimini, of the heat, and of the night airs on your return. . . . Continue to love me, and be sure that you could never have found a bride more loving and more sincere than your

'T. G. G.'

There is no truth in the statement, accepted by M. André Maurois, that from the first days of their marriage Guiccioli and his wife occupied separate apartments. But it was certainly true that 'un vieillard, même cultivé, ne pouvait satisfaire cette jeune femme.' In the autumn of 1818 Guiccioli took his wife to Venice, where they passed the winter. The memoirs contain many descriptive touches of Venetian society. Although under the heel of Austria, Venice retained many of those characteristics which, in the days of the Republic, had made her the Mecca of pleasure-seekers from the world over. Most of the elder men of importance had held office under the Serenissima. The two ladies whose salons were the most popular (the Countess Benzon and the Countess Albrizzi) were widows of patricians who had ruled in the city of the lagoons before the coming of Napoleon and the Peace of Campoformio. That melancholy which inspired Byron's 'Ode to Venice,' was the reaction of a generous heart to the vision:

' Of wealth and glory turned to dust and tears.'

But despite 'the echo of a tyrant's voice,' the town retained a certain gaiety. The kings of Europe gathered no longer in Venice (as in 'Candide') to pass the carnival, but many rich foreigners rented palaces on the Grand Canal, and were happier there than at home. One of these was Byron.

This is how he first makes his appearance in the Guiccioli Memoirs: 'There dwelt in those days in Venice George Byron: the object of infinite admiration to the women, who found him most seductive, and to the

young men, who recognised in him the supreme prototype of that romantic, fatal, and satanic elegance which the changing times had made so fashionable. People of culture admired in him l'altissimo poeta.' In former days Guiccioli had been a friend of the dramatist, Vittorio Alfieri, whom Byron himself had taken as a model, in an attempt to reform the British drama by 'a severer approach to the rules.' Animated by a very similar ideal Guiccioli had discussed, with Alfieri, the possibility of setting up 'some kind of a model theatre, where the best actors might give representations of the best tragedies. both ancient and modern.' With this idea still in his mind Guiccioli hastened to make the acquaintance of the great English poet, and after several meetings he introduced Byron to his wife. The presentation occurred one night in April, in the house of the Contessa Benzon, a lady with a past, whose receptions began at midnight, after the theatres had closed. It was a case, apparently, of love at first sight. Byron had the head of an Apollo. Teresa's beautiful features were framed in ringlets of the Titian bronze. They made an ideal couple.

In those days the old custom of the cavalier servente. or cicisbeo, was still recognised as legitimate. According to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 'the cicisbeo was the professed gallant of a married woman, who attended her at all public entertainments, it being considered unfashionable for the husband to be escort.' It is probable that the cicisbeo was something different in each individual case: at most, a lover; at least, the lady's faithful companion and devoted slave. In many cases the cicisbei were chosen by the bride's family, with the consent of the husband, at the moment of stipulating the marriage contract. Sometimes only one was chosen; sometimes as many as four. The cicisbeo accompanied the lady everywhere: to mass, on her outings, to the theatre, to the card-tables. On quiet evenings in a nobleman's house one might find My Lord in his study with the classics, and My Lady in her boudoir with the cicisbei. Guiccioli would certainly have raised no objection to his wife's relations with Lord Byron had they remained within the limits prescribed by custom, even though the poet's outstanding personality, his social position and his great fame, made him less adapted to the rôle of cavalier

servente than the usual young man about town. It was only when Byron and Teresa exceeded the bounds of decorum prescribed for such situations, and caused a scandal even in so tolerant a society as that of Venice, that the husband betrayed his resentment and began to consider the possibility of a legal separation from his wife. Teresa's own family, the Gambas, had no qualms. They did all in their power to foster an intrigue, which they considered highly flattering to their daughter and sister.

It was on the occasion of their first separation, when Teresa had to accompany her husband to his estates at Isola d'Ariano, that Byron realised how thoroughly he has lost his heart. It was then that he wrote the 'Stanzas to the River Po':

> 'River that rollest by the ancient walls, Where dwells the lady of my love. . . .'

Before they were reclaimed the marshy lands on the delta of the Po used to breed fevers, and Teresa fell ill, so that Guiccioli had to take her to Ravenna. This is what his grandson writes on the subject:

'Our property on the Ca' Zen, where the fair Teresa had to pass a few tedious days, was a dreary spot; the air was not healthy and tertian fevers not infrequent. Apparently she caught them and pretended, or really believed herself to be in extremis, so that, on reaching Ravenna, she wrote a letter to her lover which would have drawn tears from a stone. Byron, who was anxious to pursue the adventure, left Venice on June 2, and arrived in Ravenna on the 10th. He took up his quarters at an inn, not far from the tomb of Dante. On hearing of his arrival my grandfather went to call, and finding him so badly lodged, offered the hospitality of his own house. It was the natural thing in Romagna, in those days, and not unusual to-day, to offer and to accept hospitality among friends and acquaintances, for the inns, both then and now, were so unspeakably bad as to be intolerable for a person of quality. My grandfather's offer has been considered surprising by many people, especially by foreigners, but if he had not made it he would have violated the rules of the most elementary courtesy, as laid down by local custom and in view of his personal relations with Lord Byron.

'On the occasion of his marriage my grandfather had

reorganised his household with considerable state, at least according to the ideas of the time and in Romagna: many servants, many courses at dinner, many horses and carriages in the stables. That he should place them at the disposal of his guest need cause no surprise, nor that he should have harnessed four or even six horses for his convenience, since the horses were there! Indeed, on more formal occasions the carriages used to be preceded by outriders, or coursurs (we, ourselves, called them volanti). I remember as a child having played with certain strange old caps, four-cornered like the biretta of a priest, made of white and blue silk, much faded with age and ornamented with what had once been feathered plumes, also blue and white. This was all that remained of the liveries worn by my grandfather's coureurs. Such luxury in the family equipage was still customary in Italy long after the French revolution, and it lasted longer in the provinces than in the big towns.

Of what nature were the relations between Byron and the Guiccioli during the six or seven weeks when they were together at Ravenna? He imagined, and let it be believed. that in order to meet with his lady-love he committed follies. had adventures and faced dangers, compared to which those of Don Juan were child's play. I make bold to cast a doubt on all this melodrama. One must be ignorant of what Ravenna was like in those days, and of the habits of a lady of quality, to believe that such escapades could have been possible. Add to this that my grandfather was diffident and meticulous, and that Teresa, despite her youth, was not a woman to lose her head or to run unnecessary risks. Lastly. it should be remembered that husband and wife shared their board and bed. Therefore, the meetings between the lovers must have taken place very quietly, in the house of some complaisant friend, or-as I have been assured-in the home of her parents. To what extent they favoured the intrigue was made clear by the law-suit that followed.

'Other flights of poetic phantasy and further dreams of a foreigner, who knew but little of our ways and was steeped in the romantic follies of a school which imagined that Italy, in 1819, was still that of the Borgias and the Farneses, brought Byron to believe that at any moment he might be hurled down to death through a trap door, or stabbed in the back by

myrmidons of the house of Guiccioli.

'Scenes of violent jealousy were not admitted in certain classes of society, and they were put down to eccentricity and ill-breeding. It is sufficient to point out that when my grandfather gave his wife a severe scolding and ordered her to

modify her habits and her behaviour she turned on him with bitter reproaches—as her numerous apologists have testified—because she alone, of all the ladies of Romagna, was expected to do without a lover. Public opinion was by no means surprised that for some months my grandfather should have ignored, or pretended to ignore, the intrigue, for such conduct was expected of a man of wit and breeding. But it raised a fine outcry when, contrary to all precedent, my grandfather set the law in motion in a suit for adultery! Then indeed did every one accuse him of being an unbalanced and barbarous husband! But to return to the summer of 1819!

'Towards the end of July my grandfather decided to make a tour of his possessions and took his wife with him. I have read, in a Life of Byron that, not being able to bear the separation from Teresa, he started after her the very next day and, travelling by night, joined her again at Bologna. Nothing of all this is true. Events moved much more slowly. The Guicciolis started to visit their property in Romagna, and subsequently wrote to Byron, asking him to join them, in order to be present at a theatrical performance at Forli.

The poet replied in a letter which I here transcribe:

" My dear Chevalier, I write my answer in English to the letter, which I had the honour of receiving from you and your consort, for fear of Spropositi in Italian. I am very sorry that it will not be in my power to be at Forli to-morrow evening as I must wait for the Post of Domenica; but on Lunedi I intend to set out for Bologna where I shall try to discover your Palazzo Savioli. My auberge will be the Pellegrino. I make no apology for troubling you in English, which you understand better than I can write Italian, and even if you do not, I would rather be unintelligible in my own tongue than in yours. . . . My time has passed in a melancholy manner since your departure. Ferdinando and I have been riding as usual and he told a sad story of Madame's lossesun anello, una catena e dei quattrini, . . . I regretted to hear that you had sospetti of Ferd, about the Scudi which disappeared: surely he would be the last person who would be guilty of such a thing.

"I desire my best respects to the Countess, your gentle Consort, and with many thanks for kind invitation and in the hopes of seeing you at Bologna in a few days, believe

me to be

" Very gratefully and affectionately yours,

[&]quot;Ravenna, August 7bre 1819, "to the Comt Guiceioli."

The Ferdinand here mentioned was a groom. The letter shows that Byron was in no hurry to follow the others and had to be urged to do so.

'About August 10 My Lord arrived in Bologna, at the Hotel Pellegrino, and paid his calls at the Palazzo Savioli. There was a fine garden; the nights were luminous and warm, in fact everything suitable! But after a fortnight Guiccioli had to visit his estates on the Po. and he departed with his wife, leaving Byron stranded. It cannot have been very amusing to find oneself alone in Bologna, in August, at the Pellegrino inn! One can understand that Byron sought distraction even in exploring the corners of the vast palace and in strolling about the deserted avenues of the garden. It was then that he wrote on the last page of a "Corinna," belonging to Teresa Guiccioli, some passionate phrases that reveal the character of his love, which was entirely subjective, all a matter of the senses and of imagination. He writes: "You will not understand these words, written in English, nor will others understand them." It was merely an outburst for his own edification, perhaps also for posterity. hardly for "Dear Teresa." Why should he imagine that my grandfather would not understand when, as we have seen, Byron had written only a few days before that he would understand English better than the poet himself could write Italian? (though possibly this was merely a phrase that he had found useful from a literary point of view).

'A few days later the Guicciolis returned from their lands on the Po, travelling towards Ravenna. But as soon as they reach Bologna the Countess begins once more with her vapourings. She declares that she is ill, that she has a bad cough, that she spits blood, that she has fever, and so forth.

. . . It is absolutely necessary that she should go to Venice, to see Aglietti, the only doctor who enjoys her full confidence: at the same time she might see Guiccioli's children at the convent of Santa Chiara, and so on. . . . My grandfather, whose affairs made it urgent that he should return to Ravenna, was beginning to weary of his wife and her importunities. Although he does not approve of her journey to Venice, he gives a grudging consent and returns alone to Ravenna. The Countess leaves Bologna on Sept. 1st and reaches Venice

on the 14th.

'Much has been said and written concerning the six weeks that followed and which comprise the famous sojourn at La Mira, but no one seems to have been in a position (or wanted) to set down the events as they really occurred. I possess the original letters that Teresa wrote during those days to her husband. I will quote such extracts as have a real interest and do not concern minor details about servants and household linen and luggage.

" Venice, Sept. 15, 1819.

"My dear Alessandro, I reached Venice last night, in excellent condition, for the two days journey have done me more good than any medicine. . . . This morning Aglietti came to see me, and having enquired into my state of health he prescribed no medicines, but would approve of another journey for change of air. Your affairs would certainly not allow you to come with me. Therefore Byron offers to take me with him to the lakes of Garda and Como, a journey well adapted to the season and which he proposes to accomplish, as he is somewhat dissatisfied with Venice. Therefore I ask your permission and await it with the greatest solicitude. . . . Since I have been in Venice I have not been out of the house. I will go out only to see the children.

"Byron sends his greetings and charges me to tell you that the friend in England, to whom he wrote about the Vice-consulate, etc., has answered that he will immediately make the

request, as suggested, and will obtain it if possible.

"I beg you to answer me quickly. Give my best love to Papa and to all our friends and relations, and believe me,

"Your very affectionate wife,

This was the first of a series of letters which—as the author of the memoirs observes—are a model of cool impudence and truly remarkable, considering that they were written by a young woman who had not yet passed her nineteenth year and had been brought up in a convent. The permission to accompany Lord Byron on a trip to the lakes did not come, but on Sept. 20 Teresa again writes to her husband, this time from Byron's villa of La Mira, whither she had accompanied him 'on the advice of doctor Aglietti.' The maladies mentioned in justification of his journey are not usually associated with romantic adventures. She complains of 'hemorroids' and a slipped uterus.

Although Guiccioli's answers to these effusions have not been preserved, it is obvious that he must have expressed his annoyance to his father-in-law. It would even appear that he intercepted a letter addressed to the Count Ruggero Gamba. Teresa writes again from La Mira on Sept. 30. 'My dearest Alessandro,

Papa. I am glad of this, but you must not think if I do not mention my health to him that I must be quite well. On the contrary, during the last few days I have been troubled with hemorroids, a most distressing malady, and I suffer also from headaches and a return of my cough. For these last maladies I have been advised to take a journey, but before deciding I must think the matter over. . . I am still here, at La Mira, a most delightful spot, where one can live, as I do, in the greatest retirement without being at all bored.

'I cannot tell you how kind Mylord is! He has had a piano brought here for me, and music, and no end of books. Then there is company, which is so precious that, if I only had my health, I could have nothing left to wish for. Byron sends you his greetings, and is sorry that in your last letter there should have been no word for him. I am grieved to hear

that you have so many worries. . . .'

Guiccioli's patience was all but exhausted, and on the other hand Byron was urging Teresa to make it up with her husband. He did not wish to be left with the lady on his hands! So, on All Saints' Day, Teresa had an interview with old Guiccioli at Venice, and there was a fine scene! The quarrel ended, however, on Teresa's consenting to return to Ravenna with her husband, after having promised to observe the rules laid down in a specially prepared charter or schedule for a wife's good behaviour. This strange document was written out by Guiccioli and accepted by Teresa, with amendments introduced into the original text. The articles in Guiccioli's charter were twenty-one; Teresa's amendments were eleven, the first and second of which read as follows: 'To get up in the morning when I please.' 'To receive any visitor who may happen to call.' It was the custom in those days in Italy, and more especially in the Papal States, to draw up elaborate pre-nuptial settlements, mapping out in detail the daily married life of the engaged couple. The wife's right to a daily drive was carefully set down, as well as her right to a box at the theatre, and so on. Guiccioli's charter was a similar but much more elaborate document, and it had obviously been drawn up to meet a special case. Article 11 reads as follows: 'She shall be always willing to live in such a

place as shall be convenient, in view of her husband's circumstances; and she shall therefore keep her things in good order, ready to start or to return, giving up all wild desires for journeys or sojourns that should not be

convenient to her husband and to the family.'

There is much in the original document, as prepared by Count Guiccioli, that the average husband, even in our times, would read with sympathy and the average wife with dismay, but even leaving apart the details of a more general character, the special object to be attained by Teresa's acceptance (even with amendments) was a complete rupture of her relations with Byron. The latter had practically decided to return to England (a visit from Tom Moore, the Irish poet, had filled him with a desire to return home), and he meant to take his little daughter, Allegra, with him. But Teresa was bored in Ravenna; her husband sullen and suspicious; her friends inclined to hint that her poet-lover was only too pleased to be rid of her. So the old trick of ill-health Teresa wrote piteous letters was played once more. saying she was at death's door, and even appealed to her father to persuade Mylord to return to her. M. Maurois we owe the description of a scene that does not appear in the Guiccioli Memoirs. The date fixed for Byron's departure for England had arrived. In front of the Mocenigo Palace a gondola full of luggage rocked gently on the waves of the Grand Canal. Byron was ready. He had put on his gloves. Allegra was on board. All he had to do was to step in, but he waited for his guns. At that moment he swore that if the clock struck one before his guns were placed in the gondola he would not start at all. The hour struck and he remained. That night he wrote to Teresa Guiccioli that love had conquered; he would come back to her.

Byron arrived in Ravenna for the second time on Jan. 20, 1820. The snow lay deep on the marshy plain and in the pine forests where he had ridden with Teresa. But the town was gay, for carnival was at its height. Among the sources of information, used by M. Maurois in preparing his biography of Lord Byron, certain police reports are mentioned. One such report is quoted at this point in the Guiccioli Memoirs. It is written by the Chief

of Police in Venice to the Papal Governor in Romagna. and recapitulates the events of the last few months: Byron's meeting with Teresa Guiccioli in the house of the Countess Benzon, the first journey to Ravenna and subsequently to Bologna, the return of Byron to Venice. bringing the Countess with him, and the scandal provoked by their having gone to live together at his villa of La This report declares Byron to be 'one of the Mira. principal supporters of romanticism' and, as such, politically suspect. Those who wish to explore all sources of information concerning the life of Lord Byron in Italy would do well to consult such documents as are still available, in the official correspondence between the Papal authorities, diplomatic or provincial, and the Vatican. Signor Annibale Alberti. Editor of the Guiccioli Memoirs, remembers having seen in the Vatican library a report addressed to Cardinal Consalvi, Secretary of State to Pope Pius VII. The writer (also a cardinal) begged that something should be done to rid society in Ravenna of Byron's presence, which was obnoxious not only on account of his political activities, but also because he had caused a grave scandal among the noble families of the town.

During the first weeks of his second stay in Ravenna Byron let politics be and dedicated himself to the lady, assuming once more, as if by right, the part of cavalier servente. This is what the memoirs have to say about it:

^{&#}x27;On the night of Byron's arrival the fair Teresa, who had led every one to believe that she was at death's door, was present at a ball given by the Marchese Cavalli. It was so brilliant a festival that Byron himself, though well used to the elegancies of London, manifested his astonishment and admiration, which proves either that he was easy to please or that Ravenna must have changed a lot since his day. He accompanied his lady-love in the rôle of cavalier servente. Every one made much of them and seemed pleased to welcome so handsome a couple. Even my grandfather seemed resigned, though in the depths of his heart a new design was maturing. The better to dissimulate and to accomplish his purpose he consented that Mylord should rent the upper floor of his palace. He and his wife occupied the lower floor, which was more comfortable and no less handsome.

^{&#}x27;So Byron left the inn and took up his abode in the

Palazzo Osi, with four horses, four carriages, six servants and animals of every kind. His bedroom, which we afterwards used as a dining-room, had frescoed walls and looked out to the courtyard. His working-room (where he wrote "Cain," "Marino Faliero," and "Sardanapalus") was on the front of the house and looked out on the street. This was told me by my father and by an old manservant, by name Filippo Allegri, who used to speak of him as "che matt' d'on Milord," considering doubtless that a man must be quite crazy who amused himself with the fights that went on in his rooms between foxes, cats, dogs and monkeys, and who, despite his noble lineage, sought adventures with the most humble women, even with the poor girls who go barefoot to gather wood in the Of "Childe Harold" and of "Don Juan" old Allegri had never heard. Nor could he have appreciated them, even translated into Italian, for he had no knowledge of literature. or even of the alphabet.

'For two months the honeymoon proceeded without a hitch. Every one seemed happy, the lovers especially so, as also the Gamba family and the general public. But my grandfather did not remain idle, and though his impassive countenance betrayed nothing of his thoughts, he had organised a secret and untiring system of espionage. When he had collected sufficient proofs of her guilt, he asked the ecclesiastical courts for a legal separation based on motives of adultery. There exists in our archives a large sheaf of documents concerning the legal proceedings, but I have not got it beside me as I write, and even if I had I do not think that I could bring myself to publish facts that do not redound to

any one's credit nor add to any one's glory.

'Despite the outcry raised by the Gambas and the effrontery of Teresa my grandfather won his suit, and the sentence that came from Rome in July allowed the plea of separation, with the only obligation, on the husband's part, of paying a small alimony, and, on the part of the wife, to return to the home of her parents. Thus the fair Countess left her husband's house and went to stay in the villa belonging to the Gambas at Filetto, fifteen miles out of Ravenna, where the intrigue continued with her family's approval. But Byron remained in the Guiccioli Palace, as his contract permitted him to do, even though my grandfather gave him notice to quit.

'Among the legal documents exchanged on the occasion of the law-suit I found a strange letter, in Byron's hand-

writing and written in Italian. It ran as follows:

" Ravenna, August 21, 1820.

" Most Illustrious Sir, I have been informed that, in a letter written by you to Rome and dated June 24, 1820, you declared me to be a man of 35 years in the year 1819, which would mean that I am now 36. This greatly surprises me, as I cannot imagine how, when consulting a biography of living men, in order to seek news of me that might favour your suit, only those lines should have escaped you where my birth is mentioned as having occurred in 1788, so that I would only now be 31. I thank you for the fame that you have generously accorded me, even though I do not feel in a position to accept it, and I bring this small fact to your notice . . . so that you may correct an error that some day might be noted in your archives. If I, in preparing a memoir for a history of yourself, were to put you down as being a man of seventy years, augmenting your age by one-seventh. I think it would not please you. and certainly I would not suffer myself to commit this injustice, which is not a small one and affects the truth. You know only too well that it is a characteristic of human nature ever to ask more years of God and less of men.

"Your humble devoted servant, "Byron.

"To the Most Noble Chevalier The Comte Guiccioli, "deliver into his own hands."

Although Byron's knowledge of Italian was profound, the phrasing of this letter, in the original, is not quite clear, but probably he desired to be ambiguous. It may be there was a touch of malice in raising a question of age

with an old husband such as Guiccioli.

Recent biographies of Byron and the article on the poet in the new 'Italian Encyclopædia,' give a somewhat different version of the Guiccioli separation from that which appears in the memoirs. According to the former sources the legal separation, pronounced by the Church between Count Guiccioli and his wife, was obtained at the instance of the Gamba family, whereas the memoirs make it appear that proceedings were started by Guiccioli himself (as indeed it was natural that they should be). But the memoirs make clear another point—that there were two appeals to the Church for a legal separation between the Guicciolis; the first in 1821, the second, after a brief reconciliation, in 1824. This time the proceedings were indeed started by the Gamba family (or rather by Teresa), on the plea of incompatibility, the

difference being morally and financially to the advantage

of the lady.

It was after Teresa had left her husband in 1821, and had returned to her parents, that the romance of Byron's life in Italy became tinged with 'the romance of politics.' Count Gamba's villa at Filetto was a meeting place for the local sect of the Carbonari, called the Bersaglieri Americani. The fiery nature of the Romagnols gave to this sect certain distinctive qualities, but it never had a chance of becoming politically important. Byron joined the movement and was at once elected Chief of the Americani, the fact of his being a foreigner of so much fame and distinction making it difficult for the police to curb his activities. So his apartment in Guiccioli's palace became an arsenal where arms were deposited. Old Guiccioli had taken part in the government of the country in the days when the peninsula was overrun with Napoleonic troops, and had imbibed, in those times, many liberal principles which made him an adversary to Papal and Austrian rule. He was, therefore, in full sympathy with the Carbonari and desired to enter the local branch of the Americani. But this was made impossible by the strained relations existing between him and the Gambas and with Byron. At that time Guiccioli's son, Ignazio, the father of the diarist, was growing up, and he succeeded, without difficulty, in obtaining admittance into the fraternity which, for family reasons, continued to ostracise his father.

Of all the years which Byron lived in voluntary exile from England the happiest must have been those when he lived in Ravenna, the only foreigner of any importance in a community of Italians. Later, at Pisa and at Genova, he was much worried by his compatriots, not only by the gossiping busybodies of the English 'colony,' but by his own virtual dependants, such as Leigh Hunt, who himself was burdened by a large and troublesome family, or as Byron called them, 'a kraal of Hottentots.' But the idyll at Ravenna was brought to an end through those political activities in which Byron took such a romantic interest. The events are thus described in the Guiccioli Memoirs:

'While the Romagna and other parts of Italy were preparing for an insurrection the Princes of the Holy Alliance met in congress at Laibach, where also the King of Naples hastened to declare that the constitution had been extorted

from him by mob violence.

'There was no time to lose, especially in view of a rumour that the Austrians meant to cross the Po on Feb. 15, 1821. Therefore the Carbonari decided that the Romagna should rise in revolt on Feb. 10 or 11. But the Austrians anticipated their advance and, on the 7th, invaded the province of Emila. After which no one dared lift a hand. What happened then is a matter of history. There followed persecutions and orders for the confiscation of hidden arms, of which Ravenna was full. Byron had them brought to his house, so that the ground floor of our palace was piled up with guns, daggers and cartridges. The police dared not intrude into a house which was regarded as the residence of an Englishman.

'As the Papal Government began to get over its fright in June a series of arrests, escapes and exiles followed. The punitive measures hit more than a thousand persons, all belonging to the best families. Among them were the Count Ruggero Gamba and his son Pietro. They fled to Florence

and later to Pisa.

'Teresa remained alone at Filetto, and we must presume that she lived openly with Byron. To avoid this new scandal my grandfather availed himself of the sentence of separation, which obliged the wife to live with her father. He appealed to Rome, asking that she should live with him or be shut up in a convent. As this prospect did not please Teresa she decided

to fly from Filetto and rejoin her people in Tuscany.

'One might have supposed that Byron would have followed her immediately, but it took much persuasion to induce him to leave Ravenna. The Countess's letters were of no avail. Shelley had to intervene, bringing in person further messages from the derelict Countess. Finally, at the end of October, Byron started for Pisa, to the sorrow of the many friends he had made in Ravenna and of the large crowd of unfortunates who had benefited by his charity.

'When Byron left Genoa, on July 14, 1824, in order to liberate Greece from the Turk and himself from Teresa, the latter found herself abandoned for good and all, and what was worse, with such limited means that she was in danger of living in real poverty. But she was not a woman to lose heart, and had more than one string to her bow. She laid a trap for my grandfather into which, for all his eleverness, he promptly fell. She made herself out to be repentant and full of remorse; she begged for forgiveness and brought

loves.'

into play all the wiles that a clever and beautiful woman knows how to use, and in the end persuaded her husband to

pardon her and take her back into his home.

'This reconciliation had actually occurred when, in the last days of April 1824, the news of Byron's death arrived in Italy. The Countess was then in our palace at Bologna and my father (old Guiccioli's son Ignazio) was also there, pursuing his studies with Paolo Costa. It was he who brought her the tragic news. He told me about it more than once, showing surprise at the little impression it made upon his stepmother. The hour was early in the morning, and she was still in bed. On hearing of Byron's death she turned away for a few moments with her face to the wall, was silent for some little time, and that was all.

'Towards the end of the year 1824 Teresa, who had already succeeded in annulling the effects of the sentence of separation for motives of adultery, took the initiative herself of a new separation; but this time naturally for incompatibility of character. She went to Rome. She was young, beautiful and shrewd; my grandfather was in ill odour with the priests; the Papal Government was corrupt and its Ministers corruptible. She presented her case so ably that in the end she obtained what she wanted, and this time my grandfather was obliged to allow her a large annuity, with which she toured the world in search of other pleasures and further

With this somewhat sordid story Teresa passes, like Byron, out of the Guiccioli Memoirs and into those of Lord Malmesbury ('Memoirs of an Ex-Minister'), where the reader who wishes to follow her further career can find her, no longer in the full charm of her youth and beauty, but still an attractive lady with a past. Strange to say, she remained on excellent terms with her stepson, and after she had married the Marquis de Boissy and lived in Paris, acted as a sort of literary agent for Ignazio Guiccioli, busying herself with the publication of certain of his political writings, which could not be printed, even anonymously, in Italy without danger to the author. After the second separation from his wife old Alessandro Guiccioli took up his permanent abode in Venice, preferring the Austrian rule to that of the priests. The memoirs tell how, every evening, he would go to some theatre,

'. . . but on account of his failing eyesight he had to be accompanied by a young clerk, or secretary, and he wished

this young man to be let in to the theatre without paying. The Impresario naturally refused. What do you suppose my grandfather did then? Having discovered that the unfortunate Impresario had signed several promissory notes, he bought them up and threatened him with legal proceedings and a debtor's prison. The end of the drama is easy to guess. The Impresario could not pay, but he allowed my grandfather's clerk free entry into his theatre. The promissory notes had cost the price of the tickets twenty times over. But my grandfather had his own way, which was all he cared about. With him the passion for the theatre soon became a kind of mania. Not only did he go there every evening, whatever the performance might be, but he might be seen also in the day time, in the open squares, or on the Riva degli Schiavoni, watching the puppet-shows. In order not to attract the attention of the crowd he would wrap his cloak round him, to hide the cross of the order of St. Stephen, worn round his neck.

'But in Venice every one knew and recognised him, not only by his commanding aspect and great height and the orders that were rarely seen even on persons of distinction, but also for a strange vizier of green satin which he wore over his forehead to shade his eyes from the glare.'

Thus, pottering about the theatres and the squares of Venice, in the twilight of his life, old Guiccioli follows the other two and passes out of the memoirs, giving place to

the younger generation.

We know how proud Teresa's second husband was of her liaison with Byron. He used to introduce her with the words: 'Madame la Marquise de Boissy, ma femme . . . ancienne maîtresse de Lord Byron.' But in the Guiccioli Memoirs the story is told in a different spirit. A lady of quality may have her lovers; it is understood! But she should not lose her head about them, nor her dignity. And Teresa did both. The grandson of old Guiccioli takes no pleasure in the twice-told tale of a scandal in the family, and we may even suspect him of slightly bowdlerising it, in the memoirs, to conform with his own ideas of what such an entanglement should be. Yet even he, as he puts away Teresa's letters, cannot help lingering in thought over their love-story of long ago. And he writes:

'The youthful Teresa, aged 19, beautiful as an angel, born and bred in the moral and social atmosphere of Italy

at the beginning of the century, married for convenience's sake to an old nobleman 40 years her senior, meets with a young man of great lineage, handsome as an Apollo, vigorous as a Hercules, expert in all the arts of seduction, as in the exercises of the mind and body. He is surrounded by an aureole of glory and preceded by the fame of strange adventures. That she should have lent a willing ear to his whispered words of love and fallen to his fascinations is in the natural order of things. A repulse on her part to Byron's advances, in Venice, in the salon of the Benzon, in the year of grace 1819, would have made her worthy of being worshipped on our altars, or shut up in any asylum. She was not compound of the material of which saints are made. Nor was she insane. She was a woman, like so many others, such as the times and her surroundings had made her.

'Byron himself was not a good, pious and virtuous young man, such as the fair Countess has tried to describe in certain memoirs of her own, nor was he the monster that some bilious puritan or English old-maid (more hysterical than intelligent) has tried to make us believe. He was, as we should say nowadays, neurasthenic, excessive and extravagant to a point which at times makes him appear almost mad, but with all the qualities and the defects that blend so strangely in natures

such as his.

'Easily carried away by his enthusiasms, lacking in moral sense . . ., with intense physical desires and all the means of satisfying them: rich, handsome, highly born, flattered and admired, he had given himself up to pleasure at an age when such faults are frequent and excusable even in those who never had such temptations as he did or possessed his soaring genius. That on meeting a beautiful woman he should have loved her and made love to her and wandered over Italy in her company is all quite natural and needs no abstruse explanation.

'What was the nature and the intensity of their love? On this subject also much nonsense has been written. Some have searched antiquity to find anything worthy to compare with it. Others have brought the story down to the level of a romance by Paul de Kock, to a vulgar intrigue between a loose woman and a libertine. All this is mere exaggeration.

'At the beginning their love was sincere and passionate, such as both Byron and Teresa were worthy of inspiring. And this lasted till October 1819, that is to say till the days spent at La Mira. Later, as often happens, things began to change. Teresa, who was a woman of quick intelligence and a reflective disposition, began to feel that she was risking her fortune and her social position. Nor could she foresee that

in time some rays from the poet's glory would form an aureole round her fair head. Byron's nature was not easy; his mode of living was bizarre, so that life with him was not always pleasant. As he was incapable of dissimulation, it is probable that he did not hide the fact that his bonds were sometimes irksome.

'Be that as it may, it is a fact that Teresa was not much upset when Byron left for Greece, nor when she learnt of his death. Indeed she was prompt in finding consolation. The famous French actress, Mademoiselle Déjazet, on hearing that the Empress Marie Louise had married again, exclaimed: Sale Autrichienne! If I had touched the great man, only with the tips of my fingers, I would never again have washed my hand! We know that our little Countess continued to wash her hands.

'In the first days Byron loved her, as I said before, with an overwhelming passion. He was of too fine a nature, too generous, too great a gentleman, not to realise that this love was different from the greater part of those other loves which hitherto had filled his adventurous existence. Here was a young woman of his own class, beautiful and sweet, in the springtime of life, and he had fired her imagination and compromised her position, so that when he would have been willing to sever the chains that were growing heavy he felt that he could not do so unless he justified himself in his own eyes, in hers and in those of the world, by interposing between himself and her the broad expanse of the sea and a great ideal, such as that of the liberty of Greece.

'Some will quote a phrase or two from a letter, or mention some passing infidelity, to argue that Byron never loved the Guiccioli. They prove only that they have little knowledge

of the human heart and none of love.

'To speak with indifference, with sceptical contempt, to one's friends, of one's own passions, even when they are gnawing at one's heart, to deny the existence of love at the moment when it gives the greatest torment, this is merely one of those contradictions, one of those attitudes that men indulge in most frequently, even when they are not poets and do not live in a period of romanticism. From Don Juan, passing by Namouna to Monsieur de Camors, how many examples of this style have there been, and how many disciples. . . .

What influence, literary, religious or moral, did the Guiccioli exert over Byron? Very little, to my mind. She was too young and inexperienced to be able to give advice on literary matters to such a man. And it should be held in

mind that, in the days of their love affair, she knew no English.

As to religion, she had too little herself to be able to give any

to others, and so, too, with morality.

'Certainly, a beautiful woman, clever and beloved, must always exercise some influence, and it is possible that she may have suggested some theme for his songs (as with "The Prophecy of Dante"). It is also possible that she may have fed the fires of his love for Italy, and his desire for her liberation. She may have succeeded in erasing from his poems some small obscenity, some phrase that was shocking to the orthodox. And this is all. But we have no proof that even Laura, or Beatrice, did more than this.'

The Guiccioli Memoirs show how the relations between Byron and Teresa began in the artificial surroundings that bred the cavalier servente, and how love soon carried them beyond the limits prescribed for such unnatural situations. Their love story, with its Italian background, is not all beautiful, but with the passing years the small, sordid details have lost their power to shock. Only the charm remains, like the perfume of long-dead roses in a vase of pot-pourri.

DANIELE VARE.

Art. 3.—SLUMS AND SLUM CLEARANCE.

- Ministry of Health. Second and Final Report of the Committee appointed to consider and advise on the Principles to be followed in dealing with Unhealthy Areas. H.M. Stationery Office, 1925.
- The Slum Problem. By R. S. Townroe. Longmans, 1928.
- 3. The Anti-Slum Campaign. By Sir E. D. Simon. Longmans, 1933.

And other Works.

ALTHOUGH the word 'slum' is on the lips of all at the present time, the meaning of the term is understood but vaguely by the man-in-the-street. At the outset, therefore, it will be useful to essay a preliminary definition. A slum may be taken to mean a circumscribed collection of dwellings which are unfit for human habitation, either by reason of congested arrangement or of gross disrepair, or of both.

Generally speaking the slum in this country is a legacy of the days anterior to the existence of such laws and bye-laws as to-day govern the type, structure and density of new houses for the working classes. The industrial revolution of a century to a century and a half ago, took a great part in the creation of those housing circumstances which to-day confront us as slum conditions. Profound changes in the social and economic life of this country occurred at that time; among these were the sharp cleavage of social classes and the supersession of homework by factory-work in the sphere of industry. These things of necessity exercised an important influence on the distribution of population, and on the housing conditions of the people. Whereas previously industry had been conducted in a multitude of homes geographically scattered, it came at the time of the industrial revolution to be concentrated in the factory system. The factories were located near the essential sources of power-at first near rivers and streams, and later near the great coalfields. In this way were established the nuclei of our big industrial towns. The point is that while at one time industrial work was taken to the people, now the people were obliged to flock in their thousands to the prescribed

centres of work. This subscribed inevitably to the rapid and uncontrolled growth of towns in which houses for the manual workers were provided in haste, and with little or no regard for planning or sanitation. At that time in fact, the enforced object of those charged with the provision of working-class dwellings appears to have been to erect as many houses as possible on every small available area of land in proximity to the factories. This was due to the emergency conditions then prevailing rather than to deliberate policy. In this connection a study of ordnance maps made respectively before and after the time of the industrial revolution, and relating, say, to certain midland towns, is illuminating. According to the earlier maps, certain central portions of these towns are seen to have been occupied by fairly big houses possessing gardens. The later maps show many of such lands as formerly constituted gardens, to be occupied by small houses massed together in the formation now notorious as courts. Such items of evidence might well be multi-The stupendous increase in land values, which soon began to obtain in urban areas, further conduced to the unfortunate system of many houses on little land. The metropolis necessarily suffered severely by reason of this factor.

In a nutshell it would appear that the events in train with the industrial revolution were responsible in considerable degree for those collections of houses which are situate in the larger towns, and which are now categorised as slums mainly by reason of their congestion and bad arrangement. In addition, of course, there are properties which have become slums only by reason of the inexorable circumstances of age and decay. These are common to urban and rural areas. Down through the years bad landlords and bad tenants have both caused an accession to the aforesaid process of decay in the properties owned or occupied by them. In this particular connection, bad tenants are often created by high rents. When the rent of a working-class house is too much for the purse of the tenants, the latter are inclined to share the house with one or more other families in similar case. Hence a house made for one family may come to be occupied by two or three, with the inevitable result that excessive wear and tear of the property obtains, leading in course of time to

gross disrepair. Thus it is competent to say that high rents have been, and are, a cause of slums.

Physical health is largely plastic under the influences of environment. Mean and cramped home surroundings may tend on occasion to influence the human frame to their design. The incidence of rickety deformities in children condemned to live in the narrow sunless courts of our great towns is a case in point. The relationship between overcrowded housing conditions and the propagation of the common infectious diseases is self-evident. The connection between slum conditions and tuberculosis ('consumption') is also clear. Tuberculosis, contrary to the popular idea, is not an hereditary disease. The fact that tuberculosis runs in families is due to the circumstance of close contact over a protracted period, of the young members of a family with an existing case in the house-The less close the contact in the home-above all during the sleeping hours—the less likely is the passage of infection. From this it emerges that slum clearance and the provision of decent commodious houses for the displaced persons, together constitute what is probably the most promising of all anti-tuberculosis measures. The influence of bad housing upon the incidence of venereal diseases is again not hard to trace, for congested sleeping accommodation in the home renders difficult, or impossible, the ordinary decencies in regard to sex segregation, and morbid precocity with the attendant dangers to social hygiene, too often result.

Great as is the influence of home environment on the physical side, however, it is still more profound as affecting the human mentality and behaviour. Contentment, respect of law, social adjustment, and general perspective are to a very considerable extent made or marred by the intimate surroundings of the home. Just as the physique can be affected by bad environment in early life, so thereby can the mind be warped and the seeds of grievance sown. It is clear, therefore, that slum conditions are unhealthy and anti-social to a dangerous degree. Environment may be adjusted to man, or man to environment. In practice both obtain. When, for example, housing circumstances are improved to attain to the standard required by a progressive people, such persons as are moved from the lower to the higher standard of

environment need to adjust themselves to the latter. this connection it is common to hear the view that slumdwellers, on removal to decent housing estates, tend in time to reproduce there, the same conditions as those from which they were taken. This contention presumably is based on the fact that these people have been in the past deeply susceptible to the influences of environment. Why should susceptibility to environment be lost merely because the new environment happily is a wholesome one? There is no reason why it should. Experience in many places has shown that, in the large majority of cases, the rehoused slum dweller reacts gratefully to a decent home, and his mind, body, and habits benefit in common by the change. Admittedly there are exceptions, and because of these it is essential that education and specialised estate management shall be made concomitants of housing improvement. In any case, no one will deny that children who enjoy removal from unhealthy areas are bound to receive lasting benefit by such removal.

The year 1851 saw the earliest attempt to ameliorate the living accommodation of certain sections of the working classes, for in that year the Earl of Shaftesburybest known for his pioneer work in humanising factory conditions-originated and caused to be enacted two measures known respectively as the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act and the Common Lodging Houses Act. These, however, dealt only with the regulation of existing common lodging houses and with the provision of new ones, and had therefore little if any bearing upon working-class houses as such. Housing legislation proper began in the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act, 1868, which was amended by two other Acts passed respectively in 1879 and 1882. Complementary to these were the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts of 1875 and 1879, and the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885. The Acts of 1868, 1879, and 1882 fixed upon the owner the responsibility of keeping workingclass dwellings in repair, and contained provisions which appear as antecedents of certain powers included in the 1925 and 1930 Housing Acts for the purpose of requiring the repair or demolition of individual unfit houses. Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts

of 1875 and 1879 similarly appear as the forerunners of those parts of the 1925 and 1930 Acts which relate to the clearance or improvement of collections of unfit houses, that is to say of slum areas. The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, is important in that it consolidated and extended the previous piecemeal enactments anent working-class housing, and until 1925 was recognised as the principal Act. The 1890 Act, among other things, gave powers to local authorities in the matters of clearing slum areas and of the repair, closure, or demolition of individual unfit working-class houses. The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 enabled town planning schemes in the localities. The Act of 1919, similarly named, placed upon local authorities the duty of preparing and carrying out schemes to meet housing requirements in their respective areas, and provided for contributions from the Exchequer to local authorities for this purpose. Additional provisions as to Exchequer contributions were made in the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act, 1924. Such were the more notable stages in arriving at the celebrated 1925 Housing Act which to-day is the principal Act, and to which the now more famous 1930 Housing Act is an essential complement.

With this spate of legislation, and with the need and rationale of slum clearance so patent, why has more not been done in the past? The main difficulties in former times have been the lack of houses for the displaced and the inability of many slum-dwellers to pay the economic rents of better houses. These in fact substantially obtained until Aug. 16, 1930, when the Housing Act, 1930, came into operation. The new Act constitutes a notable advance in that, inter alia, it seeks specifically to counter the difficulties in question. It is 'An Act to make further and better provision with respect to the clearance or improvement of unhealthy areas, the repair or demolition of insanitary houses and the housing of persons of the working classes. . . .' Part I of the Act consists of provisions in respect of the clearance or improvement of unhealthy slum areas. Acting on a representation by their medical officer of health or on other information in their possession, a local authority may declare a given area, duly circumscribed on a map, to be a clearance area or an improvement area. An area is deemed to be a Clearance Area (a) if all

the houses contained in it are considered to be unfit for human habitation or to be so badly arranged as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the area, and (b) if the most satisfactory way of dealing with the conditions obtaining in the area is to demolish all the buildings contained within it. An area is deemed to be an Improvement Area when despite the fact that the housing conditions in it are considered to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants, the aforesaid conditions can be remedied without recourse to the demolition of all the buildings in the area. In dealing with an improvement area, such houses as warrant it are demolished or repaired, the area is opened out, and domestic overcrowding is abated.

A vital feature of the clearance area and improvement area procedure is the requirement of an undertaking from the local authority concerned to the effect that such rehousing accommodation as is required for displaced persons shall be duly provided in advance of the displacements. In this way the 1930 Act eliminates the factor of lack of houses for displaced persons which formerly militated so strongly against progress in the clearance or radical improvement of slum areas. This is indeed an important point.

The various steps necessary in the operation of clearance area procedure are briefly as follows :-

1. The local authority declare a demarcated slum area to be a clearance area.

2. The local authority make a Clearance Order.

3. The Clearance Order is submitted to the Minister of Health for confirmation.

4. The facts of the aforesaid submission are ventilated locally, and interested persons may appeal to the Minister against the Order.

5. If any appeals are thus lodged, the Minister causes a local public inquiry to be held at which the local authority and the appellants state their respective cases.

6. As a result of the local public inquiry, the Minister of Health may confirm, modify, or quash the Clearance Order.

7. If the Minister confirms or modifies the Order, he in turn makes an appropriate Provisional Order. The latter becomes a final Order when confirmed by Parliament through the

passage of a Provisional Orders Confirmation Bill, and becomes operative on a prescribed date.

8. When the Clearance Order has thus become operative, the owner or owners of the houses and buildings to which the Order applies must demolish such houses and buildings within six weeks of the date on which the houses and buildings are required by the Order to be vacated.

The above procedure on paper may appear cumbersome. In practice, however, it is eminently practicable, and after all such careful and safeguarded procedure is necessary in fairness to the owners of the properties at The improvement area procedure, though somewhat more complicated, is not substantially dissimilar in principle. Part II of the 1930 Act contains the provisions for requiring the repair or demolition of individual unfit working-class houses. By sections 17 and 18, where a local authority are satisfied that any working-class dwelling is in any respect unfit for human habitation, and that such dwelling can be rendered fit at a reasonable expense, they are empowered to serve and enforce a notice requiring the execution by the owner of such repairs as are deemed necessary to restore the house to a state of fitness. These sections are in wide use by all major local authorities, and a volume of useful house-reconditioning work is enabled thereby. Other sections of Part II of the Act contain the provisions whereby local authorities are empowered to require as necessary the demolition of individual unfit houses, and the closure of such unfit parts of buildings as comprise separate tenements. The criteria whereby an individual unfit dwelling is adjudged to require demolition are (a) that it is unfit for human habitation, and (b) that it cannot be made fit at reasonable expense. The procedure for seeking to secure the demolition of individual unfit houses is somewhat as follows:-

1. The local authority serve upon the owner a notice stating the time and place at which the appropriate committee of the local authority will consider (a) the condition of the house or houses in question, and (b) any offer which the owner may care to make in the matter of repair and improvement of the property at issue.

The local authority may subsequently either (a) accept the owner's undertaking to repair and improve the property according to a submitted specification, or (b) reject such offer (if any) as the owner has made in respect of repair and improvement and impose a Demolition Order on the property.

3. The owner has a right of appeal to the County Court against the Order made by the local authority in this con-

nection.

It will be seen that whereas in clearance area procedure, appeal by the owners is to a Local Public Inquiry conducted by a Central Government Department, in 'individual unfit house' procedure such appeal is to the County Courts. In practice, uniformity of standard is more likely to emerge from the former. Appeals to the County Courts in respect of individual unfit houses ordered for demolition, largely devolve upon the question of whether or not the properties in question can be made fit 'at reasonable expense.' The latter term conduces to an elasticity of interpretation which affords argumentative

scope to the lawyers.

Part III of the 1930 Housing Act consists of clauses concerning the provision by local authorities of new housing accommodation and concerning Exchequer assistance in connection with such provision. During the year 1933 the Government enacted that Exchequer assistance in respect of housing provision by local authorities shall be in respect only of new houses provided to meet the displacements occasioned in the course of slum clearance This means that, from 1933 until further notice, housing operations by local authorities will almost entirely -entirely in the case of most authorities-be confined to rehousing in connection with slum clearance schemes. The plan of Exchequer contributions to local authorities under the 1930 Housing Act is unique in that for the first time it is based not on the number of new houses provided by the authority, but on the number of persons displaced from slum areas and duly rehoused. The contribution is payable annually for a period of 40 years at the rate of 45s. per annum per person displaced. The monies thus received by a local authority from the Exchequer are pooled and are augmented by a local rate charge which is ordinarily at the rate of 3l. 15s. per year per new house provided. The combined sums thus available enable that the new houses provided by a local authority under the 1930 Act can be let at rents suited to the pockets of the

tenants moved into the houses from slum areas. The financial provisions of the 1930 Act have thus overcome the former difficulty which was constituted by the fact that displaced slum-dwellers cannot usually afford the full economic rents of better houses. Schemes of differential renting have been adopted on the new rehousing estates, and each tenant family is assessed as to rent according to means. In practice this works well, and the difficulty (formerly much ventilated) of two families in adjacent similar houses paying different rents, has not

proved a very real one.

The Housing (Financial Provisions) Act, 1933, which became law on May 18, 1933, terminates Exchequer subsidies to local authorities under the Housing Act, 1923, and the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act, 1924. As mentioned previously, the result is that Exchequer assistance to local authorities in respect of housing is now available only in connection with such provision of houses as is necessary in the course of 1930 Act slum clearance schemes. This means in effect that 'ordinary' provision of new working-class houses, which of recent years has devolved largely upon local authorities, will henceforward revert to private enterprise. In this connection it is deemed that, with the present return to normal economic conditions, private enterprise will be able to meet the ordinary routine demand for working-class houses, and that rents will be kept within reasonable limits by the forces of competition. It would appear that, in so far as housing is concerned, the Government intends that local authorities shall be in a position to concentrate their forces for the war on slums.

Nothing is more difficult than to define exactly the term 'slum.' An elementary definition in general terms has already been given. The word 'slum' has captured the public mind more by reason of its appeal to the imagination than on the score of precise definition. It is necessary to engage in some detail before anything like a practical understanding of the term can evolve. At the outset it would appear that no uniformity of standard can obtain in the matter of slum diagnosis on the national scale. That which might be regarded as a slum in, say, Harrogate or Eastbourne, might not be so classified in a

big industrial town where average housing circumstances are unavoidably lower in standard. This point is well illustrated in the case of back-to-back houses. Whereas in a town containing a limited number of such houses, the latter might well be regarded as slums on account per se of their back-to-back formation, in a city containing many thousands of back-to-back houses, a modified attitude might of necessity have to be taken for the time being. Although in the terms of the 1930 Act a local authority may proceed against undesirable property as a result of 'other information in their possession 'as well as pursuant of a representation by their medical officer of health, in practice the opinion of the last-mentioned officer is the usual criterion in slum diagnosis. Here again it is clear that absolute uniformity of standard is precisely as unlikely as is absolute uniformity in medical officers' opinions as to what is and what is not a slum. Nevertheless, there is general agreement on broad principles. A collection of houses can be marked down as a slum only after a detailed inspection of the area and of each house situate therein and a careful review of the assembled facts. The latter will fall under two main headings, viz: (a) those appertaining to the fabric and amenities of the houses, and (b) those relating to the general arrangement of the houses as a whole in the area under consideration. slum area almost invariably presents unhappy features under both headings.

In regard to the fabric and amenities of the individual houses in an area, the major points are somewhat as follows: dampness and non-resistance to weather by reason of perished and defective brickwork or stonework of walls, absence of damp-proof courses, defective roofs, rotted door and window frames, and the like; lack of decent amenities consequent upon absence of separate and internal water supply, defective drainage, want of proper larders, insufficient closet accommodation, insufficient amenities for washing clothes, etc. Bad arrangement of houses in an area means congestion-in 'courts' or in close rows-with resultant impediment to the free circulation of air around the houses, and to the free entry of natural light and sun thereto. Bad arrangement is vitally important, for it is evident that no amount of repair to the individual houses themselves can affect it, and that demolition of all or some of the houses in the

area is the only measure which can rectify.

The reader may perhaps best form a concept of a slum by considering the following description of one of the areas demolished recently consequent upon action by the present writer. A small area is chosen for our example because it more readily lends itself to brief treatment on paper while fully illustrating the principles at issue. area comprised 45 houses, of which 16 were back-to-back, 14 'blind back,' 8 'through ventilated' but not 'through,' and 7 'through.' All the houses were dilapidated and exceedingly old-some in fact were as much as 300 years old. The net extent of the area was 0.47 acre, and the number of houses to the net acre. 95. The number of houses to the gross acre (that is to say inclusive of the area comprised by the proximal halves of adjoining highways) was 69. By contrast with the last-mentioned figure, the maximum number of houses to the gross acre generally approved under town planning schemes is 20, and on typical municipal housing estates the number of houses to the gross acre is about 12. The congestion of houses in the area was therefore marked. The houses for the most part were massed together to form four squalid 'courts.' In one of the latter the houses had as little as 31 feet of space between their fronts and the blind rear walls of other houses in the area. All the houses in the area were very damp, due to absence of damp-proof courses and to the perished and porous condition of the brickwork comprising the walls. Defective roofs and bulging walls were also common throughout the area. There were 28 of the houses in the area which contained one or more rooms with low ceilings. The heights of the rooms in question varied between 5 feet 9 inches and 7 feet 3 inches, whereas the minimum standard in this connection usually laid down by local bye-laws for rooms other than those wholly or partly in the roof of a building, is 8 feet. The factor of low ceilings is important in that no amount of reconditioning work can touch it. In regard to larders, 39 houses were without proper provision, and household foodstuffs had perforce to be stored in dark, damp, unventilated cupboards, or in boxes and the like. Of the 45 houses in the area, two only were provided with sinks.

The occupants of the other 43 houses were constrained to use basins for ablutions and other purposes. waste water from these processes was emptied at gullies in the various courts. In one court, an open brick channel passed close in front of a row of houses so that waste water or other foul fluid matter passed within 3 feet of the front doors of the houses. Only one of the 45 houses had a separate water supply. The 44 other houses obtained their water from outside standpipes or yard-taps in one or other of the courts, and it was common to find upwards of 5 houses sharing one stand-pipe or yard-tap. In the matter of closet accommodation, 2 only of the 45 houses had separate closets. In the case of 34 houses, there was but one closet for every 3 houses. In some instances, moreover, the closets were situate from 75 feet to 110 feet distant from the houses they served.

If the reader has any doubt as to the ill-effects upon health of conditions such as those outlined above, let him compare the vital statistics of the instanced area with those of the town (as a whole) in which it was situate,

viz:

VIE.	
Death-rate.	
Average for the five years 1927–1931 \cdot In the area In the town as a whole	16.78
as a whole	10.18
Infant Mortality Rate.	
In the area	$283 \cdot 2$
Average for the five years $1927-1931$. $\begin{cases} In the area \\ In the town \\ as a whole \end{cases}$	63.38
Death-rate from Respiratory Diseases	
(exclusive of tuberculosis).	
Average for the five years 1927–1931 \cdot . In the area In the town as a whole	6.99
as a whole	1.57
Death-rate from Tuberculosis.	
In the area	1.4
Average for the five years 1927–1931 . $\begin{cases} In \text{ the area} \\ In \text{ the town} \\ \text{as a whole} \end{cases}$	0.97

From the foregoing the reader will have formed a mental picture of what a slum really is. He will have gathered also that an exact definition in words of the term 'slum' is difficult or impossible to arrive at. In effect,

a slum is a dwelling or collection of dwellings against which a local authority, acting within the terms of the 1930 Housing Act, and upon authentic information in its possession, can successfully proceed.

Despite a volume of housing legislation during the last decade, the work of slum clearance in this country has hitherto been painfully slow. The outstanding difficulties in the past have been lack of alternative housing accommodation and inability of slum-dwellers to pay the economic rents of decent houses. How both these points have been met by the provisions of the 1930 Housing Act has been explained already. The 1930 Act required the councils of every borough and other urban districts of over 20,000 population, to submit to the Ministry of Health before the end of 1930 a statement of the measures to be taken during the succeeding five years against slum conditions in their respective areas. The slum clearance proposals then submitted were in many cases modest to a degree, and even so, many towns between 1930 and 1933 fell behind with the prosecution of their programmes. Thus it was appropriate that the stimulating Circular 1331 of the Ministry of Health should have been issued to local authorities on April 6, 1933. The last-mentioned Circular called for a complete clearance of the slums in the various localities within the period of five years ending Dec. 31, 1938, and a programme of work to enable this was to be submitted by each appropriate local authority to the Central Department by Sept. 30, 1933. By the last-mentioned date, although all local authorities had not then submitted their proposals, the response was nevertheless reported to be most gratifying. This will be appreciated when it is stated that such programmes as had reached the Ministry of Health on the appointed date collectively contained proposals for the demolition during the next five years of nearly a quarter of a million undesirable dwellings in various parts of the country. The cost of the accompanying rehousing schemes will be in the neighbourhood of 95,000,000l. Each programme submitted in this connection embraces (a) lists of the areas in which clearance or improvement is necessary, with information as to the number of unfit houses to be demolished in each and as to the number of their

inhabitants, (b) a time-table for the initiation, progress, and completion of the necessary action in all these areas, and (c) a time-table of rehousing co-ordinated with the displacements contemplated in view of clearance opera-Thus local authorities have been 'nailed down' to plans which are specific as to period of currency, nature, and extent. Circular 1331 describes the slum problem as a limited one, and one which is measurable both as to cost and as to the time required for its solution. Nevertheless the biggest provincial towns-Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds; and the like-are clearly faced with a task of unusual magnitude. In London the task is still greater, and in fact the Circular cedes that the Metropolis stands alone, and that therefore more time will be necessary to the London County Council and to the Metropolitan Borough Councils for the eradication of slums in their collective area.

The Government demands for slum clearance are timely in that building costs are at present low, labour plentiful, and money cheap, although it would appear that building costs may rise substantially as the five years' period of slum clearance passes. The Exchequer assistance given to local authorities under the 1930 Act in respect of new houses provided for displaced slum dwellers, is on such a scale as is encouraging to the authorities in question. There can be no doubt that the stage is set for a sustained national offensive.

The duty of ascertainment, representation and clearance of slums in each locality devolves upon the Public Health Department of each local authority. What is the scope for voluntary endeavour? So long as the latter is complementary to official activities, it can play a valuable part. House Improvement Societies and Public Utility Housing Societies, financed by publicspirited persons willing to give money or to loan money at low interest, have been formed in many parts of the country with the object of buying groups of slum dwellings, and either rendering them fit for human habitation by drastic reconditioning or demolishing them and rehousing the persons displaced. Examples of these societies are the St. Marylebone Housing Association, the St. Pancras House Improvement Society, the Birmingham Copec House Improvement Society, Liverpool Improved Houses,

Ltd., Newcastle Housing Improvement Trust, Ltd., Coventry House Improvement Society, Ltd., and so on. Useful help, on the small scale, can undoubtedly be accorded by such organisations. Readers who are interested in voluntary housing work, might read with profit a booklet entitled 'The Public v. The Slums,' published by Rotary International. The Church and the Press are powerful instruments in the matters of enlisting public opinion on behalf of slum clearance measures. Both have proved anxious to assist the campaign. The propagandist, whether he be cleric or pressman, must be well informed. Enthusiasm, without knowledge of the administrative and legal considerations involved, is capable of embarrassing the efforts of local authorities. It may do so, for example, by leading the public to expect within five years a housing Utopia which may well in practice be impossible of attainment. The enthusiasm of a well-informed Church and Press in each locality is, on the other hand, an indispensable factor. Finally, the man-in-the-street can help by forming and expressing an opinion favourable to the work. We expect slum clearance in our time. We do not expect practice to fall short of intention.

ARTHUR MASSEY.

Art. 4.—THE ELIZABETHAN LITERARY SOCIETY,* 1884–1934.

- Labour, Life, and Literature. By Frederick Rogers. Smith, Elder, 1913.
- 2. The Toynbee Record. 1890 and afterwards.
- 3. History and Description of the Marlowe Memorial, Canterbury. 1928.

THE four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Queen Elizabeth was celebrated on Sept. 17, 1933. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that since that date there has been an unprecedented manifestation of popular interest in Gloriana herself and in the outstanding figures of her epoch. She has been seen on the stage in her troubled girlhood, before she succeeded to her sister Mary's throne, as 'the Tudor Wench.' A distinguished historian has in a full-length biography again sought to interpret for 'the body of lay men and women 'the riddle of her personality. In plays born on both sides of the Atlantic, Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Burbage have been recalled from the sixteenth- to the twentieth-century theatre. Even more conspicuously has Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, come before the public eve. The attribution to Holbein of the rediscovered Castle Howard portrait of King Hal is still a matter of keen debate. His 'private life' has been exploited in the most triumphantly successful of recent English films. He has lived again on the boards in Shakespeare and Fletcher's chronicle-history and in the appealing play of a contemporary dramatist, 'The Rose without a Thorn.'

The Jubilee of the Elizabethan Literary Society thus falls at an apposite time, when personalities and problems to which it has devoted its interest for half a century have in the conditions of to-day become the concern of the world at large. Like many other institutions that have proved themselves to possess enduring life, the Society began in a small and informal way. It came into being in the East End of London on March 8, 1884, as a reading party of some half-dozen students under the guidance of

^{*} I am indebted to the Hon. Secretary of the Society, Miss Joyca Brown, for the loan of printed records, and to Mr O. Sallmann, Hon. Secretary, 1900-1920, for some valuable MS. notes.

the Rev. W. Bartlett, one of the earliest University settlers in the East End. The 'Elizabethan Society,' as it appears to have been originally called, had at first no settled home, but met usually about once a fortnight in Davenant's Schools, Whitechapel Road. Its objects, as at first set forth, were more than sufficiently wide and elastic: '(1) The comprehensive study of English literature, more especially of the Elizabethan age. (2) The reading of monthly papers on literature by members or friends.'

When Bartlett left the East End in 1885, his place was taken by H. D. Leigh, one of the earliest Toynbee Hall residents, who became the first President of the Society. But owing to its lack of a settled home, and perhaps of a sufficiently precise programme, it went through one or two anxious years. In its 1886-7 session. however, it had the good fortune to find at the same time a fixed centre for its meetings in Toynbee Hall and a firstrate organiser of its activities in Frederick Rogers. Rogers has told the story of his connection with the Society in his vivid autobiography, 'Labour, Life, and Literature.' By birth a native of Whitechapel, he had begun to earn his living at the age of ten as an errand-boy, and at fourteen he had entered a stationer's warehouse as a bookbinder. He followed this trade from 1860 till 1884, when he became first a traveller for a publishing firm and afterwards a free-lance journalist. But in 1887 he returned to his earlier avocation as foreman of a department of the Co-operative Printing Society. He had thrown himself energetically into the activities of his trade-union, into the movement for promoting workmen's clubs, into elementary-school management, and later into the co-operative movement. But his deepest passion from his earliest days was for books, especially of an imaginative type. By reading everything he could lay hands on, by visits to the Guildhall Library after it was thrown open in 1870, by attendance at University Extension lectures, especially those of S. R. Gardiner, he gained a knowledge of literature, history, and economics which qualified him, while still busy with his trade, to become a capable lecturer and contributor to the Press. He had also been from boyhood, when he could afford the price of a seat, an enthusiastic patron of the 'cheap

theatres' in East London, and afterwards he had come under the spell of Henry Irving's romantic interpretation of

Shakespeare at the Lyceum.

In the newly opened University Settlement of Toynbee Hall, Rogers saw a powerful agency for the realisation of his aim of 'connecting the various labour movements which I instinctively saw were presently to mould the life of the nation, with the finer elements in our national life-with religion, education, art, and literature.' When, therefore, the first Warden of Toynbee Hall, Canon S. A. Barnett, asked him to become the leader of the Elizabethan Literary Society with the Hall as its headquarters. Rogers assented, and, in his own phrase, 'took charge,' with the title of Vice-President. Associated with him as Secretary was Bertram Dyer, who afterwards became the librarian of the public library at Kimberley in South Africa. Dver was succeeded by J. E. Baker, who, like Rogers, had begun as a London errand-boy, and had developed strong literary tastes. His was a life of much early promise that was to become deeply clouded before its end.

The words in which Rogers describes the activities of the Society during the first session of his leadership are notable:

'We met every week to read the works of Christopher Marlowe, and were about a dozen in number, working-class and middle-class lads combined. . . . I laid down a principle in our Elizabethan studies which experience had shown me to be perfectly sound, and the following of which gave the Society the influence which it attained in literature. The principle was that we were to read the Elizabethan authors themselves first, and what other people had said about them after. We gathered a delight from Marlowe's verse by this method which we should have missed if we had followed commentators before reading the poetry, and if we were wrong in our judgments, as probably we sometimes were, we knew all the joys of first love.'

It is remarkable how throughout its career the Society has remained constant, in essentials, to the model here sketched. Though it soon outgrew the limit of a dozen, its membership has always been comparatively small. Though always glad to welcome newcomers, it has laid less stress on numerical strength than on regularity of

attendance and sympathy with its aims. And if, in a narrower interpretation, the 'working-class' element. with so many other avenues for study now open to it, has dwindled, the members are still, in the wider sense, mainly workers. They include Civil Servants, men and women engaged in professional work or business of various types, teachers, and others—all occupied during the day in earning their livelihood. For the meetings continue to be held in the evenings. The experiment of having in addition Sunday morning readings lasted only from 1890 to 1892. And the Society seems soon to have reverted from weekly to fortnightly meetings, the readings of Elizabethan authors, on which Rogers laid such emphasis, alternating with lectures and papers. This principle is still in force. By the end of 1892 the members had read all Marlowe's plays and many of those of Dekker, Middleton, Peele, Jonson, Webster, Beaumont and Fletcher, Thomas Heywood and Tourneur, besides More's 'Utopia,' Bacon's 'Advancement of Learning,' Browne's 'Religio Medici,' and Southwell's poems. 'Paradise Lost' and 'The Pilgrim's Progress' had been read on Sunday mornings.

It seems to have been on the initiative of Rogers that a number of distinguished names were associated with the Society as Honorary Vice-Presidents. Among those in the original list were Stopford Brooke, Edward Dowden, Churton Collins, F. J. Furnivall, Richard Garnett, and Sidney Lee. As will be seen, they have not been without worthy successors till the present day. But one among them, Sidney Lee, was destined to play an even more influential and enduring part than Rogers himself in the fortunes of the Society. Lee had gained his first enthusiasm for the Elizabethans under Edwin Abbott at the City of London School. While he was an undergraduate at Balliol (1878-82) he had attracted the notice of Furnivall by two Shakespearian articles in 'The Gentlemen's Magazine,' and through his recommendation was chosen by Leslie Stephen as sub-editor of 'The Dictionary of National Biography ' in 1883. He became joint-editor at the end of 1889, and later sole editor. Through his Oxford connections and his position on the 'D.N.B.' Lee was closely in touch with the world of scholarship and letters. He could thus supply what

would otherwise have been wanting in Rogers' drivingpower and popular appeal. It was the union of the two elements, especially after Lee became President in 1890, that drew to the young Society the active support of so many of the leading Elizabethans of the day.

The earliest list of monthly papers that has been preserved is for 1888-9. Among the eminent names that appear in it are A. H. Bullen on 'Dr Thomas Campion, the Song-writer'; John Addington Symonds on 'The Plays of Thomas Dekker'; Havelock Ellis on 'George Chapman,' and Stopford Brooke on 'John Webster.' Other papers were contributed by Lee on 'The Topical Side of the Elizabethan Drama,' by Rogers on 'Marlowe's "Tamburlaine the Great," and by two ladies: Mrs (afterwards Dame Henrietta) Barnett on 'The Educational Value of Art,' and Miss Grace Latham, who is still an active member of the Society, on 'Shakespeare's Early Comedies.' Bullen and Symonds (who sent his papers to be read) continued their help for a number of years, and in 1889-90 there were also papers by H. C. Beeching, one of Lee's Balliol friends, afterwards Dean of Norwich, on 'Shakespearian Tragedy'; by F. J. Payne on 'The Shakespearian Apocrypha'; by Edward Dowden on 'John Donne: his Verse and Prose'; and by Edmund Gosse on 'Ben Jonson's Masques.' A detailed report of Gosse's lecture is to be found in 'The St James's Gazette,' Feb. 6, 1890. It also received a characteristically American notice in 'The New York Herald' of the same date, headed "Poet Gosse" lectures to a Whitechapel Audience on the Mysteries of Masque.'

In the session of 1890-1 Mr William Poel made his bow to the Society characteristically with a paper on 'The Stage Arrangement of "Romeo and Juliet," and Mr Ernest Rhys followed in the wake of Symonds two years previously with a paper on Dekker. Another paper on 'The English Novel in the time of Shakespeare' was contributed by the President's sister, Miss Elizabeth Lee. No fresh name appeared among the readers of papers in 1891-2, but in the following session, besides what has remained the unique episode of an anonymous contribution by 'Clelia' on 'The Shakespearian Reconciliation,' there were three important newcomers. Mr (now Sir) Edmund K. Chambers discoursed on 'Samuel Daniel';

George Saintsbury, then in his period of London journalism, on 'Thomas Shadwell'; and Richard Le Gallienne, who had recently gained popular repute as an essayist and writer of light verse, on 'William Chamberlayne,' author of the then almost forgotten narrative poem, 'Pharonnida.' But it was a second paper by Le Gallienne in the following session on another neglected Cavalier poet, John Cleveland, that attracted more attention from the Press. As the 'Morning Post' reported on Feb. 8. 1894, Le Gallienne had made his first acquaintance with Cleveland through 'a little volume picked out of the threepenny rummage-box of a second-hand bookstall.' He declared that Cleveland, 'whom he had brought to the Society's hospitable home for lost poets, was once a successful rival of Milton. To-day he doubted if any fashionable bookseller would recognise Cleveland's name. Yet if it were unjust that he should soar so high in 1667, it was consequently unjust that he should now be so low.' In spite, however, of Le Gallienne's plea, it was not till 1912 that Cleveland's verse was re-edited by a Yale Professor in America, and not till 1921 that it found a place in vol. III of Saintsbury's 'Minor Poets of the Cavalier Period.

In the same session, 1893–4, another writer of verse which has stood the test of time better than Le Gallienne's, Lionel Johnson, read a paper on 'Sir Philip Sidney's "Defence of Poetry"; and Elizabethan Conceptions of Art in General.' Another paper by Mr A. C. Hayward, who is to-day the senior Vice-President of the Society, on 'Slang in the Days of Queen Elizabeth,' provoked a letter in 'The Toynbee Record' from Bolton King, who asserted that 'it is not easy to see that such research can be other than a waste of time and thought.' To this Hayward made the effective reply that his aim was to point out 'firstly, how much of the Elizabethan slang had since become incorporated into our language; and, secondly, how much of our modern slang was good Elizabethan English.'

We can see an omen of J. M. Robertson's future prominence as a 'disintegrator' of Shakespeare in the title of his paper read during the 1894-5 session: 'Is Hamlet a Consistent Creation?' On Feb. 5, 1896, according to the programme, Thomas Secombe, one of

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Lee's 'D.N.B.' lieutenants, was to have discussed 'The Relations between the Elizabethan and Augustan Ages of English Literature.' But the presence in London of Dr John Stefannson of Copenhagen led to the substitution of a paper by him on the question, 'Did Shakespeare visit Denmark?' He thought, on various grounds, that this was probable, though recent criticism has not, so far

as I know, supported his view.

In 1896-7 I began my connection with the Society by reading a paper on 'Robert Herrick,' and in the following session Mrs C. C. Stopes, who had migrated after her marriage from Edinburgh to London, discussed 'The Scottish and English Macbeth,' while Dr F. A. Bather, active in both the scientific and the literary fields, dealt with 'Shakespeare as a Punster.' In 1898-9 the programme included the following notice: 'The Committee have the pleasure to announce that Mr H. Beerbohm Tree has kindly consented to read a paper before the Society, particulars of which will be duly announced.'

For some reason the promise was not fulfilled. But the Elizabethan Literary Society had already, in a different and more public fashion, been brought into close contact with the leading figures of the later Victorian stage. So far as the Society has had a special 'hero' it has been Christopher Marlowe. When the members were reading his plays in 1888, Rogers and Baker wrote to the Press suggesting that belated honour should be done to his memory. There was a sympathetic response, and a Marlowe Memorial Committee was formed, with Lord Coleridge, the Lord Chief Justice, as Chairman, Lee as Treasurer, and Rogers as Secretary. Tennyson, the Poet Laureate, Robert Browning, and Swinburne gave their support: as did Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy. Leading English and American men of letters and scholars co-operated, and the theatre had its representatives in Henry Irving, E. S. Willard, Wilson Barrett, and Henry Arthur Jones. It was resolved to invite subscriptions from both sides of the Atlantic for the erection of a memorial to the dramatist in his native city of Canterbury. The theatrical profession gave generous help. Irving and Ellen Terry sent 100l. from the proceeds of a reading given by them in St James's Hall. Willard lent the Shaftesbury Theatre for a

matinee on July 4, 1890, in aid of the fund. The programme began with W. L. Courtney's one-act play, 'Kit Marlowe,' with Arthur Bourchier in the title-rôle, and amongst others who appeared in the different items were Cyril Maude, Ada Rehan, Letty Lind, George Alexander, Albert Chevalier, Benjamin Webster, Fanny Brough, Maude Millett, May Whitty, Herbert Waring, and Willard himself. There could scarcely have been a more many-sided tribute from the stage in the eighteen-nineties.

The design of the monument was entrusted to Onslow Ford, R.A., and took the form of a Renaissance pedestal, carved in Portland stone, and surmounted by a life-size bronze statue of a lyric Muse. There were four niches intended to receive statuettes of the chief figures in Marlowe's plays. But with the money in hand it was not possible to complete more than one of these—Tamburlaine, modelled upon Henry Irving. It was, therefore, in every way fitting that Irving should unveil the Memorial in the Canterbury Butter Market at Christ Church Gate on Sept. 16, 1891. As he put it in the closing words of his fine tribute to the dramatist:

'I am proud to remember that Marlowe's work, like Shakespeare's, was written primarily for the stage; that, if not an actor himself, Marlowe was intimately associated with the actor's calling, and that the Elizabethan dramatists, with Shakespeare the actor at their head, in employing the stage as the first medium of their appeal to posterity, linked it for ever with an imperishable glory.'

Rogers, who followed Irving, laid stress on Kit's local associations, 'son of one of your city's handicraftsmen . . . educated at your King's School yonder, brought up under the shadow of your stately Cathedral.' But he records in his memoirs that, though it was a memorable occasion, 'the good citizens of Canterbury, beyond the Mayor and some of the chief officials, were not interested, and the crowd came largely from outside.' And many years later Edmund Gosse, in a letter to 'The Times,' revealed, in his most Puckish manner, an incident that happened on his way to the hotel where he was to propose Irving's health at the luncheon given after the ceremony by the Mayor:

'I was walking thither with Alfred Austin, who had come over from Ashford for the unveiling, when a man accosted us very politely with, "Excuse my asking, gentlemen, but was the widow able to be present?" "Widow?" we both exclaimed in stupefaction: "the poet was a bachelor, and he died 300 years ago." "Oh!" said the man, "then there's some rummy mistake, for all the crowd thought the monument was to the late public executioner, Mr Marwood." That remarkable man passed away in 1883.

One may be a little sceptical as to how far this polite gentleman really represented 'all the crowd.' In any case the news of the Memorial reverberated far and wide, and Rogers was even emboldened to claim that the Society 'would have justified its existence if it had ceased work then, but more was before it.'

Its next outside activity sprang indirectly from the movement for the Marlowe Memorial, though it was not concerned with the Elizabethans. Browning, as has been mentioned, was a supporter of the Memorial scheme, but he died in December 1889, before it was carried through. Rogers had thus been brought into correspondence with him, and he and Baker were ready to endorse the proposal first made by Furnivall that a very cheap selection of Browning's poems should be issued. I think that they underestimated the attractions of the two volumes of 'Selections' issued originally in 1872 and 1880, which have always been among my favourite books. And I am a little doubtful whether the poet was really, as Furnivall declared, being 'kept out of his rightful inheritance of the praise and love of many thousands of the cream of our poorer and working students.' However this may be, Rogers drew up a petition to the poet's son, and it was largely due to the influence of the Elizabethan Literary Society that the publishers issued towards the end of 1890 the selection that was long popularly known as 'the shilling Browning.'

In 1895 the Society supported a plan for commemorating a group of the later Elizabethan dramatists. In the Church of St Saviour, Southwark (now Southwark Cathedral), John Fletcher and Philip Massinger lie by ried in one grave. A committee was formed, with Sir Valter Besant as Chairman, to erect memorial windows to them in the newly restored nave. From a letter addressed by Rogers and Baker to the Press it appears that it was in Massinger that the Society was specially interested; and

in claiming for him 'a very high place among the Elizabethan dramatic writers,' they are in accord with the views of recent scholarship, both in England and France, which has been much occupied with Massinger's work. The memorial scheme was finally extended to include windows to Beaumont, Alleyn, and Shakespeare, whose brother Edmund is also buried in the church.

But readings, papers, and memorials have not been the only interests of the Elizabethan Literary Society. From the first its programmes have been headed by the quotation from Act IV of 'Love's Labour's Lost': 'Societie (saith the text) is the happiness of life,' and it has sought to carry on the festive spirit of the Tudor days. In October 1888 it took part in a social evening of the London branch of the Co-operative Printing Society, with 'tea on tables at six o'clock: entertainment to commence at seven,' and performed a scene from 'Henry VIII.' In 1889 it began to hold conversaziones with dramatic recitals and Elizabethan songs, single-handed, and this practice continued for many years.

On Feb. 24, 1893, a new feature was introduced by a dinner at the Crown and Cushion Restaurant, London Wall, at which Rogers, the Vice-President, was the guest of the evening. In the following year, on Jan. 26, Sidney Lee, the President, was similarly entertained. But the series of annual dinners, or 'suppers' (as, after Elizabethan fashion, they came to be called), with their full ritual, may be said to have begun with that on Jan. 8, 1895. Then for the first time Lee was in the Chair, and proposed 'the pious memory of Queen Elizabeth,' which is still honoured every year by the members in silence, after the toast of 'The King,' and the singing of 'Here's a Health unto His Majesty.' For the first time also the guest of the evening was not an official of the Society, but a distinguished visitor, Dr (afterwards Sir) Gregory Foster. In the years that followed, a succession of leading Elizabethans were entertained, men of letters and scholars. dramatists and actors, with no concern for a few hours but to 'fleet the time carelessly,' as if they were in the Forest of Arden. In addition to speeches and songs, the evening's programme usually included the performance of one or more selections from Elizabethan plays. And on several occasions specially written pieces of a 'revue'

type—one of which, as I remember, was much enjoyed by Mr Granville-Barker—have added to the gaiety. The supper was originally a purely masculine affair, and the entrance on the scene of the other sex has robbed it of its earlier informality. But the Elizabethan spirit of revelry has made itself at home with 'all that ever went

with evening dress.'

The beginning of the present century coincided with a new phase in the organisation of the Society. Frederick Rogers, who was now actively campaigning in the movement to secure Old Age Pensions, resigned the Vice-Presidency, and joined the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents to which Henry Irving and W. M. Rossetti had previously been added. He was succeeded in 1900-1 as Vice-President by Mr A. C. Hayward, and in the same session Mr Otto Sallmann followed, as Hon, Secretary, Alfred Wareing, who had filled this office for three years after the resignation of J. E. Baker. During the next twenty years Hayward and Sallmann, with Messrs W. H. Graham and C. F. Barrett as successive Hon. Treasurers, worked in close co-operation with Sidney Lee, who became more and more the moving spirit of the Society. He presided at the annual suppers, he gave a lecture every session, and he usually took the Chair at the other lectures, for which he did much to secure a succession of eminent names. addition to those previously mentioned, the programmes during the first quarter of this century include papers by Sir D'Arcy Power, W. Blake Odgers, Alfred Austin, Sir Frederick Bridge, St Loe Strachev, R. Warwick Bond, W. P. Ker, A. C. Bradley, R. B. McKerrow, W. W. Greg, John Masefield, J. W. Mackail, Laurence Binyon, W. L. Courtney, Ernest Rhys, Sir Israel Gollancz, Abbot Gasquet, G. C. Moore Smith, J. E. G. De Montmorency, Alfred Noyes, John Bailey, Percy Simpson, A. W. Reed, Walter de la Mare, T. S. Eliot, Desmond MacCarthy, St John Ervine, J. Middleton Murry, Ernest Law, and Jack C. (now Sir John) Squire. It would be difficult to imagine a more brilliant and many-sided company of Elizabethans.

As the original connection of the Society with the East End had weakened, and as there was increasing pressure on the accommodation at Toynbee Hall, a migration took place, in October 1913, to King's College, Strand, where the Society, through the courtesy of the

College authorities, has since then held its meetings. Even through the War years these were continued, though with a curtailed programme. Soon afterwards Mr Sallmann ended his long and fruitful period of service as Secretary, and joined Mr Hayward as a Vice-President. He was succeeded in 1920 by Mr Keith B. Hutchinson, and in 1923 by Miss Joyce Brown, Secretary of the Stapley Educational Trust. Almost from the beginning women had read papers before the Society and had been present as visitors or, from 1900-1, as honorary members; but it was not till the 1921-2 session that they were admitted to full membership, and Miss Brown was the first of them to hold office. Since then Miss Latham has become a Vice-President and Mrs Stopes and Dame Sybil Thorndike have been added to the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents.

Sidney Lee's historic Presidency was nearing its close, but its last years were among the most memorable. On Jan. 26, 1924, he presided at the Supper where Miss Lilian Baylis was the Society's Guest, in celebration of her achievement of having produced all the plays in the Shakespearian Canon at the Old Vic. In her reply Miss Baylis laid stress on the importance of team-work in Shakespearian performances as contrasted with that of the individual actor:

'I hope the day will come when my messenger in "Macbeth" is just as fine as Macbeth. I want every character in the play to be played by really thrilling, splendid players. In "Macbeth" the part of the messenger is the part I would like to play if I were a man."

The next supper on Jan. 24, 1925, was to be the last of the long series at which Sir Sidney Lee presided, and it formed a fitting climax. There was a 'record' gathering to do honour to Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, who was the Guest of the Society. In proposing his health the Chairman said that what, as students of Elizabethan literature, they chiefly valued in Sir Johnston was 'the delicate insight which he had brought to the interpretation of some of the greatest of Shakespeare's tragic creations, including Romeo, Macbeth, and Hamlet.' He recalled how their guest had begun his career as a pupil of Phelps at Sadler's Wells, and Sir Johnston,

in his reply, confessed that he was 'proud to be a link with the great past, for Samuel Phelps was Macready's favourite actor; Macready had played with Mrs Siddons; and she, as a young woman, had played with David Garrick.'

This Supper was not only memorable in itself, but it had an important sequel. In the previous summer the Corporation of Canterbury had removed the unfinished Marlowe Memorial to the local park, the Dane John, in order to erect a War Memorial on the original site. Sir Sidney, in his closing words at the Supper, urged that the Society should set itself to complete the monument and fill the three vacant niches. The proposal was welcomed, and a Committee was formed representative not only of this country but of the Dominions. France, and the United States. As before, the theatrical profession gave generous help in the raising of funds. Mr William Poel arranged at the Haymarket Theatre on July 24, 1925, a series of readings from Marlowe's plays in which a number of eminent actors and actresses, headed by Mr Henry Ainley, took part. At the same theatre, in January 1927, a professional performance of Frederick Reynolds's play 'The Dramatist' was organised by Professor and Mrs Allardyce Nicoll in aid of the fund. A performance by students of the University of Sydney also gave material help. But the largest single sum came from an American source, and the Committee were thus enabled to commission Mr Charles Hartwell, R.A., a pupil of Onslow Ford, to execute the statuettes for the three empty niches. Dr Faustus was modelled from Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson: the Jew of Malta from the picture of Edward Alleyn in the Dulwich Gallery; and Edward II from the late James K. Hackett, the distinguished American actor. On Nov. 1, 1928, the completed Memorial was unveiled by Mr Hugh Walpole, who, like Marlowe, had been a pupil at the King's School. The Mayor and Corporation attended in state, in spite of unfavourable weather, and the ceremony was concluded at the King's School under the presidency of Dr Bell, then Dean of Canterbury, now Bishop of Chichester, who has always helped to promote cordial relations between Church and Stage.

Lee did not live to see the successful outcome of his plea at the 1925 Supper. He had hoped to preside again on Jan. 23, 1926, when Sir Edmund Gosse, one of the oldest supporters of the Society, was its Guest. But Sir Sidney was too ill to be present, and on March 3 he died and his ashes rest in the churchyard at Stratford-on-Avon. Even in his last years, when he was mainly preoccupied with his biography of Edward VII, his devotion to the Elizabethan Literary Society never slackened. When it fell to me to collect a volume of his essays, including the remarkable article on 'Ovid and Shakespeare's Sonnets' which first appeared in the 'Quarterly Review,' in April 1909, for publication after his death, the Society had, I thought, the first claim to its dedication.

I was elected to succeed him as President, and with the co-operation of the Officers and the Committee have sought to continue the work of the Society, with a few modifications, on its traditional lines. Elizabethans, both of the older and the younger generations, have maintained the series of monthly papers on their accustomed level. The Guests at the recent Suppers have included men and women of the theatre, Sir Nigel Playfair, Mr Ashley Dukes, Miss Clemence Dane, and Mr William Poel, in honour of his eightieth birthday; and men of letters and poets, Mr Hugh Walpole, Professor Abercrombie, Mr de la Mare, and Mr Alfred Noves. In this Jubilee session we have sought to bind the Society's days 'each to each by natural piety.' For papers are being read by Mr A. C. Hayward, Miss Grace Latham, and Dr J. W. Mackail, who have for so long done it yeoman service, while Professor Reed has represented the association with King's College, and Sir Thomas Hughes, K.C., the Elizabethan traditions of the neighbouring Inns of Court. A new feature in the programme is the first Marlowe Memorial Lecture which has sprung out of the movement for completing the monument at Canterbury. As part of the Jubilee celebration 'The Reckoning,' a play based on the legal records of Marlowe's death, by Mr C. E. Lawrence, who happens to be one of the Joint Editors of this Review, will be acted for the first time at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. And at the Jubilee Dinner the chief guest will be Lord Rennell of Rodd, who carries into our own day the love both of classical and Italian literature typical of the Elizabethan Englishman.

The fifty years of the Society's life have been a period of unprecedentedly rapid development in London's literary and educational conditions. Many of the Colleges of the University have now elaborate programmes of lectures open to the public. The London County Council, in its network of evening institutions, offers facilities for study to those who are occupied during the day. The British Academy has its annual Shakespeare Lecture, and the Royal Society of Literature has revived the work of its Chairs. The English Association, the British Drama League, the Shakespeare Association, the British Empire Shakespeare Society, have all sprung into active life. In one way or another these institutions have naturally occupied ground that in old days would have been more or less the Society's preserve.

During this half-century, too, the lines of approach to Elizabethan literature and drama have largely changed. What may be broadly called technical features have attracted increasing interest and study. Elizabethan stage conditions, the organisation and personnel of the theatrical companies, the activities of printers and book-sellers have been sedulously investigated. So, too, with the relations between the folios and quartos and the authors' manuscripts, and the textual problems that result. The searching of files in the Public Record Office for anything that throws light on the Elizabethan background goes on unceasingly. It has even been said that the 'Shakespearian' of to-day has no time to read the plays because he is so absorbed in the lawsuits of the

period!

Of course this is not the whole story of modern Elizabethan scholarship, but it represents a real change of focus, which has been to some extent reflected in the papers read to the Society. Though it has never published 'Transactions,' it may claim to have made its contribution to scholarship. As has been seen, it did much in its early days to revive the interest in Campion and Donne, in Chamberlayne and Cleveland. More recently it has heard from Mr T. S. Eliot a re-valuation of Marston. On various occasions it has received the first information of important results of research, as when Professor Moore-Smith discoursed on the marginalia of Gabriel Harvey; when Professor Leslie Hotson described the fatal affray

between the two dramatists, John Day and Henry Porter; and when Miss Ethel Seaton threw new light upon the career of Raleigh's mathematical friend, Thomas Harriot.

But its distinctive place is not as a 'learned Society.' Of its 'missionary' work on behalf of the Marlowe and Massinger memorials there is no need to speak further. But in more unobtrusive fashion it has supported every vital Elizabethan movement in the theatre for half a century, from the romantic Shakespearian acting of Irving and Forbes-Robertson to the realistic experiments and innovations in stage-production of William Poel, Granville-Barker, Nigel Playfair, and the Old Vic.

But above all the Elizabethan Literary Society has

sought in all its activities as far as might be to

'... recapture
The first fine careless rapture'

of Gloriana's spacious times. Frederick Rogers, in words already quoted, has told how the earliest members felt 'all the joys of first love' in reading Marlowe's plays. This spirit has been the lasting heritage of the Society. Not that it falsely romanticises the Tudor period. It is not blind to what Sir Edmund Chambers has recently called 'the disenchantment of the Elizabethans' —the disappointments, the failures, the cruelties of the epoch. But it is by its positive achievement that an age lives and is finally judged. And in the England of Elizabeth the spirit of man burst into flame. Its joyous energies flowed spontaneously forth into song and poetry and drama; into masque and pageant and all the manyhued bravery of social life; into adventure and discovery on the uncharted ocean and in the unexplored New World. Never has the individual as artistic creator or man of action proved himself more sovereign master of his fate. And at a time when his freedom of soul and body is threatened by the despotism of the machine and of political mass-movements, the legacy of the Elizabethans has become to us even a more precious source of inspiration than it was half a century ago.

FREDERICK S. BOAS.

Art. 5.—THE FRANCO-GERMAN PROBLEM.

EVEN the most ardent pro-German should realise that since the dissolution of Charlemagne's empire territorial expansion in Europe entered into French calculations only so far as the security of French soil was concerned, and this is the truth to-day. For four centuries Germany was united with France; they lived amicably together and the borderland populations had much in common. Charlemagne was German, and France has always felt that she is his rightful heir in the west. At the Lycée at Versailles the principal school festival of the year was in memory of that great man. The most patriotic of my companions, however, appreciated the one good dinner of the year and the champagne in which to drink to France's destiny more than the patriotic little speech of the headmaster on her future. The ties uniting the Frankish aristocracy were dissolved and the two kingdoms emerged. The original Franco-German frontier was not drawn to suit nationalities. Lorraine, purely French, fell to Germany, while Flanders, wholly German, became French. Dynastic quarrels were frequent, but the national conflict between French and Germans did not take definite shape until Richelieu's day. Even then and for ever afterwards security and not annexation for annexation's sake has been the foundation of French foreign policy. Disraeli declared, in 1844, that 'the racial question is the key to world history.' At present the problem confronting France and Germany, and therefore the entire world, is based on this apparent truth.

Richelieu desired to prevent the union of the German states. The great Cardinal fully realised that the position of France had become more and more dangerous owing to the growing might of the Habsburgs. Three centuries ago he laid down the foreign policy of France which has been followed by French statesmen of all parties unto this day. Richelieu wanted gateways into Germany which could be opened or shut at pleasure in order to check the increasing power of Austria. Curiously enough, he had scant respect for the military qualities of his countrymen, and he wished, if possible, that others should pull the chestnuts out of the fire for France. France herself should remain in the background. His two alternatives were to

carry war into Germany or else to see France invaded. He selected the former, and, being an ardent Catholic, he subsidised Swedes and Protestant Germans. But the war was against Spain and not against Germany, which was only the most convenient theatre of war. He was aiming at the Spanish Netherlands and Belgium. The hazardous decision was justified, and eventually Alsace was acquired for France by Marshal Guébriant, chiefly by the aid of that officer's Swedish mercenaries. This was in 1639. Nine years afterwards the peace of Westphalia finally surrendered the imperial possessions in Lorraine and Alsace to France, when the Habsburg Emperor of Germany was forced to dissociate himself from his Spanish branch. In the circumstances France cannot be blamed for her acquisitions, namely, such rights as the Habsburgs possessed in those two regions and no more. France did not acquire the whole of those territories. Richelieu's successor, Mazarin, was indeed bitterly reviled in France for having contented himself with so little. It is also the fact, however, that French intervention had, after all, saved Germany from becoming a purely vassal state of the Habsburgs, although this important truth was not realised in Germany, which distrusted her deliverer.

The bitterest enemy of France must admit that she has always been intensely patriotic, whereas German rulers until early in the nineteenth century were very different from that. Even the Great Elector, that much belauded patriot, secretly undertook in 1679 to vote, if called upon, for Louis XIV to be elected Emperor of Germany! But then the Elector was far more concerned about his eastern frontier. He freed Prussia from her feudal allegiance to Poland, and he intended his duchy of Brandenburg to become a kingdom. Germany had been merely a pawn in the game of French policy largely because her princes were bribed to support it. The Great Elector was mainly responsible for the permanent loss of Strasbourg in 1681. As Prussia became more powerful. France could choose which of the two German Powers she would back. She began by supporting Prussia. But that state had conceived a highly nationalistic policy of her own. France thereupon was solid for Austria, her traditional foe, and endeavoured to smash Prussia in the Seven Years' War. Nevertheless, France's real goal in

Europe was still not Germany but Flanders. She miscalculated, but her European frontier remained unchanged. Under Louis XVI, married to an Austrian Archduchess, the policy of France was again to maintain Prussia as a great Power, so that France should still hold the balance between the two great German states. In fact, France supported Frederick the Great on two occasions against Austria, for France then feared an Anschluss just as she

is alarmed about its possibility to-day.

When the French Revolution was firmly established the National Assembly in Paris solemnly declared on May 22, 1790, that 'the French nation renounces any war for conquest and will never use its might against the freedom of any other country.' When the revolutionary leaders wished to advance towards the Rhine this was not for annexation but solely in order to make mankind supremely happy by influencing all governments in Europe. Shortly afterwards, however, a new National Assembly declared war on Austria. But this also was in order to fight for the rights of the people against the tyranny of kings and not for lust of conquest. The real object was to drive the Habsburgs out of the Netherlands. The French miscalculated then, as the Allies miscalculated in 1914. France anticipated that the war would soon be over, but instead it developed into a World War which lasted for twenty years. Curiously enough, every World War during the past three centuries has been originally a Franco-German struggle. The invasion of France by the Duke of Brunswick, however, coupled with his threats, lashed French patriotism to fury, and the invasion soon came to an inglorious end.

On March 30, 1793, Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were declared to belong to France. The Rhineland plébiscite was, however, a sham, and the Rhinelanders fell an easy prey, for German national feeling was inert, while Austria and Prussia, mistrusting each other, made a separate peace with France. She kept the entire left bank of the Rhine in the interests, as she declared, of German security and she also cast a covetous eye on the right bank. To compensate the temporal German princes for their losses on the left bank, the princes of the Church were despoiled. It was, indeed, a blessing for Germany in the long run that most of the states, more than 200 in number.

and especially the Church principalities, should disappear from the map. Prussia, however, was still a potential menace unless in alliance with France. This solution had appealed not only to revolutionaries but also to monarchists. The Hohenzollerns, however, preferred to have a free hand, although Prussia had benefited enormously by her share, allotted by Napoleon, of the spoils when the domains of the Church were secularised. Later on he offered her not only Hanover, in other words

all north Germany, but even the Imperial crown.

But the great Emperor adopted a very different attitude when he realised how little reliance could be placed upon the Prussian government, which was also a weak one, and decided to crush such an unsatisfactory neighbour. Of course, Prussia, if she had accepted his amazingly tempting proposals, would have been a lesser light than France, and the king of Prussia probably looked the gift horse in the mouth when he reflected on former French policy concerning Germany. While Napoleon has often been criticised for crushing Prussia, many critics fail to realise the true purpose of his policy. That was the downfall of England. Trafalgar had settled the question of the invasion of Britain, and the only possible alternative was the strict observance of the Continental blockade for which the order was, perhaps designedly, issued from the Royal Palace in Berlin.

designedly, issued from the Royal Palace in Berlin.

The Germans themselves did not at first realise what had happened to them, such was their joy at being at last

had happened to them, such was their joy at being at last free from the despotism of petty princes. But the catastrophic mangling of Prussia caused an abrupt change of sentiment. Even after the battle of Leipzig, however, the allies of Germany offered Napoleon the left bank of the Rhine. He refused only because he felt that France would never forgive him for being content with so little. Alsace was sundered from Germany by the allies after Waterloo although its population was overwhelmingly German. Most of the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine was awarded at the Congress of Vienna as compensation for the cession of some Prussian possessions in Poland. But this accession of territory in the west was by no means universally applauded by Prussian leaders; even some Prussian generals were opposed to it, preferring a buffer state between their country and France. This

idea had originated with William Pitt. Some leading Frenchmen would also have preferred a buffer state. its absence Frenchmen generally came to believe that the Rhineland was essential to protect France against invasion, forgetting that neither Prussia nor Germany had ever wished to invade France except once when the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick in the revolutionary war was intended to restore the monarchy and had no other purpose. M. Thiers, in 1840, thought he saw his way to seizing the Rhineland. But this caused the minister's downfall, to the secret satisfaction of the French king, who was convinced that a check in the Rhineland would almost certainly have cost him his own insecure throne. The danger to Germany was in any case really negligible, for France was quite unprepared militarily. But Thiers' project thoroughly aroused German suspicions, and these became a permanent factor in German national life.

Napoleon III, who knew Germany well and had much sympathy with her people, had been anxious for an alliance with Prussia. But the negotiations, the only ones of their kind, came to nothing, because France demanded the cession of Rhenish territory as compensation for the alliance. Germany became a Federal Union when Bismarck disclosed this to Baden, Bayaria, and Würtemberg. The military treaties were signed on Aug. 13, 17, and 22, 1866, respectively. Much stress is often laid by French sympathisers on the invasions of France in 1814, 1815, and 1870. The first two, however, were in the company of allies, while the third invasion was caused by the unprovoked declaration of war against Germany in 1870. The Duc de Gramont told the Danish envoy in Paris on July 18, 1870, that 'We have a start of ten or twelve days and could have had a longer one if, as we hoped, we had been able to prolong the negotiations.' The year 1870 was of vital importance to history, for in its womb lay the future Entente. Legends are frequently accepted as historical facts, and a word should be said about the famous Ems telegram of July 13, 1870. Bismarck had been desirous of an alliance with France if this could have been effected without dishonour. had even gone so far, in 1865, as to demand from Prince Blücher that he should give up the family portraits of the Napoleonic family which his grandfather had seized during

the great Emperor's lifetime. Blücher only saved his property by getting it over the frontier into Austria to

his castle at Radun by the very last train.

There is a mass of literature, taken from authentic documents, in the British Museum on the events connected with the proposed Franco-Prussian alliance. The works of Hermann Oncken contain voluminous details, and Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin, in his book, 'Ma Mission en Prusse,' took no exception to the Ems telegram. It was really the French Foreign Office which made the message appear so offensive to France. It did not correct the obvious error of the French telegraph agency which had reported that King William had conveyed to the French Ambassador his refusal to discuss the French demands further through the mouth of an adjudant. The message was actually conveyed by Prince Antoine Radziwill, the King's personal aide-decamp, a most courteous gentleman. A recent work on the origin of the war of 1870, by the French general, Palat, also draws attention to the telegram. The French word adjudant means a non-commissioned officer. In Mr Evelyn Ashley's 'Life of Lord Palmerston,' published in 1876, there is a letter from that British Prime Minister to the King of the Belgians, dated March 13, 1863. In it Palmerston entreated His Majesty to warn the King of Prussia to be most careful in his actions, for the French had laid a trap with the intention of occupying the Prussian Rhenish provinces. The scheme, Lord Palmerston said, had failed for the moment, but the French Government had shown much ill-humour and would certainly take advantage of any pretext to revive it. But all through this tangled web runs the thread of French anxiety about security.

In the early 'eighties two French Ambassadors at Berlin, namely Count St Vallier and his successor, Baron Courcel, stressed the desire of Bismarck to live on friendly terms with France. The Chancellor said to the former, 'Only leave the Rhenish question alone and I will help you in every other way to procure the compensations which you wish to have.' The third volume of the postwar monumental German work 'Die Grosse Politik' describes fully all that passed. Unfortunately, matters did not improve and the Franco-Russian alliance of the

closing years of the nineteenth century marked an ominous stage towards another Franco-German conflict which would inevitably draw in other European Powers. It must also be emphasised that German diplomacy, although, as Entente documents prove, it did not want war, was often incredibly aggravating and stupid, and

France clung to Richelieu's policy.

The German Emperor, William II, himself was, like many other people, a believer in the balance of power theory—in other words, in dividing Europe into two armed camps which should neutralise each other. On May 29, 1901, in consequence of some remark of mine about a French military mission in Berlin, the Kaiser said to me: 'The Continental nations mean to work in peace, and you' (he stressed the word) 'will not be able to prevent us doing so. You will have to join one side or the other.' Before the Kaiser uttered these words I had already reported to the Ambassador my conviction that a general Continental war could not be far off. The financial strain everywhere was becoming so great that 'the nations will have to fight or burst. They will be too proud to choose the latter alternative.' The trouble with English Foreign Ministers often is that their own upright characters prevent them from seeing below the surface where charming foreign diplomatists, trained from their youth to intrigue, are concerned. Sir Edward Grey expressed his horror when he learned accidentally that the large screen in his room at the Foreign Office was to enable a concealed shorthand writer to take down every word that passed. The foreigner concerned no doubt judged others by himself.

One may, nevertheless, fail to comprehend how even Sir Edward's artlessness caused him completely to ignore the danger signal against his Entente policy, which M. Clemenceau flashed in his face on April 28, 1908, six years before the outbreak of the universal cataclysm. In Vol. II, pages 291 and 292, of his 'Twenty-Five Years' Grey reports the French statesman as having told him that good relations between France and Germany (since 1871) had not only always been out of the question, but were, on that date, 'more so than ever.' M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, had also told his Russian colleague, Count Benckendorff, that no

amount of diplomatic documents could ever place the two countries on friendly terms. The Count's correspondence shows his own earnest desire for peace. Europe was divided into two immense military camps, and it is important to note how the German Government acted during the years immediately preceding the World War, as described by hostile witnesses. It has long been known that the contents of important despatches to St Petersburg from the Russian Ambassador in London had been promptly transmitted to Berlin. The originals are all at Moscow. The following extracts are taken from the 'Diplomatische Aktenstücke' by von Siebert, Secretary of Embassy under Benckendorff, and Réné Marchand's 'Livre Noir.' Marchand was for some years a French journalist in St Petersburg, well acquainted with French ambassadors, and a supporter of Entente policy until after the Russian Revolution, when he had access to the archives in Moscow. The two works contain, of course, many extracts taken from the same original documents. Siebert's book bears internal evidence of its authenticity for those who are acquainted with the Russian language.

The following observations are taken from Siebert's work. On Feb. 13/26, 1911, Count Benckendorff stated that the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 had been designed in order 'to prevent Germany from getting a foothold in Persia.' The Ambassador, on April 26/May 9. 1911, commented on the very pacific attitude of the German Government with regard to the French occupation of Fez. On Aug. 3/16, 1911, the Ambassador mentioned to Sir Edward Grey the vulgar abuse to which the German Emperor had been subjected by part of the German press in connection with his pacific attitude concerning the Agadir incident. Sir Edward then told the Count: 'In the event of war between Germany and France, England must take part.' On Sept. 30/Oct. 13, 1911, the Russian Ambassador in Berlin reported that the peaceful settlement of the Agadir crisis was due 'in the first place to the Emperor William, who from the outset was resolved not to allow the incident to result in war.' The Russian Ambassador in Paris reported on Oct. 12/25, 1911, that the French Foreign Minister had remarked on the moderate attitude adopted by Germany in the negotiations about the Congo. Count Benckendorff, on Nov. 8/21, 1911,

stated that some circles in England were becoming anxious as to British foreign policy. They pointed out that during the preceding two years England had twice been on the verge of war for causes which did not directly affect her own interests. As regards the War Guilt Charge, which still stands in the Treaty of Versailles, the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople reported on Aug. 16/29, 1912, that the European situation was such that the most triffing incident might produce a general war quite accidentally. Sazonov, in his report to the Emperor Nicholas concerning his journey abroad in September and October 1912, stressed his conviction, after his visit to Berlin, that the German Government was very anxious that the situation in the Balkans should not lead to war there. The German Government, he said, was afraid lest a general European struggle might result from it, and that, having resolved to do 'all in its power' to prevent such a catastrophe, it was prepared to assist by every possible means in order to localise a Balkan war if

such should occur.

The highly critical situation of England, which was not only carefully concealed by Mr Asquith and Sir Edward Grev from Parliament and, therefore, from the country, but was explicitly denied by them over and over again, is plainly seen in a letter from Count Benckendorff to Sazonov. It is dated May 5/18, 1914. Sir Edward Grey had just returned from his visit to Paris. The Ambassador reported that Mr Asquith saw no insuperable difficulty in effecting a military agreement with Russia similar to that which existed between England and France. The result would be, wrote the Ambassador, that 'the hitherto far too theoretical and pacific basic principles of the Entente would be replaced by something more tangible.' The Ambassador went on to say that, although a formal alliance was absolutely out of the question, he believed there could be no stronger guarantee for common military operations in case of war than the spirit of the Entente. This spirit, he said, was strengthened by the military conventions. He went on to say that 'any open alliance would meet with such fierce opposition in England, and not only from the Liberal party, as to destroy most of the intended political effects. I believe that in such circumstances an alliance would be of little value: it

would scarcely increase the guarantees already offered by England to France and to Russia. On the other hand, it would afford a far more favourable opportunity for the agitation in favour of Germany.' The German Government was in possession of this information before the war broke out.

Space prevents more than three references to Marchand's work. Like Siebert's, they are typical of thousands of others. On pages 347 and 348, Vol. II, of the 'Livre Noir' there are extracts from Sazonov's report on his visit to England in September 1912. Readers who wish to know what passed then must study the book for themselves. It is also to be found, among much other extremely interesting matter, in Stieve's 'Der Diplomatische Schriftwechsel Iswolskis,' Vol. II, page 291. In his Vol. II, pages 303 and 304, Marchand quotes a letter of Benckendorff's dated Feb. 12/25, 1913, stating that—

'The idea occurs to me, almost amounting to a conviction, that of all the Powers France is the only one which, while I will not say she wants war, would see it come without much regret. There is nothing to show that she is working in the direction of a compromise. But compromise means peace, no compromise means war. . . . If Germany had desired war (over the Balkan question) she would not have acted as she has done. She longs for compromise.'

In Vol. II, pages 279-280, there is a cablegram from Sazonov to the Russian Ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, and Rome, dated July 14/27, 1914. It states that the British Ambassador at St Petersburg, Buchanan, had inquired whether Sazonov would agree to a conference in London of France, Germany, and Italy to seek a peaceful solution of the Austrian dispute with Serbia. Sazonov had replied that, if his direct negotiations with Vienna should fail, he was prepared to accept the English proposal 'or any other 'capable of reaching an amicable solution. But he added to this cablegram a special note for the Russian Ambassadors in London and Paris: 'If there is any suggestion of exercising a moderating influence at St Petersburg we refuse beforehand, as from the outset we have taken up a position from which we cannot recede.' The Russian official 'Livre Orange,' No. 32, does not

contain this special message. It is not surprising that Germany to-day has taken up a position from which she will not recede. Curiously enough, our statesmen apparently never proposed any plan by which France, or Russia, or both, should help England if she should

get into serious trouble.

Outside France, the Treaty of Versailles was regarded as being as harsh as it well could be. But Clemenceau, the principal author of it, was and is still bitterly reviled in France for having contented himself with so little. He had meant to have the Rhine, but Mr Lloyd George and President Wilson prevented this. It was not until April 25, 1919, that Clemenceau could persuade his ministerial colleagues and President Poincaré to relinquish their annexation project by impressing on them that during the ensuing fifteen years of allied military occupation, 'the Germans will not have fulfilled the conditions of peace. You will, therefore, then be able to announce that we not only hold the Rhineland but mean to keep it.' Poincaré confirmed this intention after the French invaded the Ruhr. France to-day is truly more anxious about her security than ever before. She rightly argues that if there should be general disarmament to approximately Germany's level, then Germany, if she should be in a revengeful mood, could, owing to her overwhelming numerical superiority, smash France with her bare hands. France holds firm to the League of Nations, but Lord Riddell, in the second volume of his 'War Diary,' quotes Mr Baruch as having been told by President Wilson, in 1922, that the League of Nations had been prematurely born, as nations were not yet suited for it.

Some illustrations show how Chancellor Hitler represents the overwhelming mass of German opinion. Of course he has committed blunders and will no doubt blunder again, like all other great men. An eminent English editor gave him six months at the outside before his collapse. In an article in January 1932, written before Chancellor Brüning had stated that Germany could not pay any further reparations, I said that she held the key position. During the following weeks many letters from unknown correspondents reached me. The writers declared that they would refuse to continue paying tribute and being treated like parishs. In the summer of 1933,

when travelling in Germany, an old German friend, a banker and professing Jew, whose business had not been interfered with, naturally did not approve of the anti-Semitic campaign. He had always been first of all a good citizen. It may be remarked parenthetically that just then a Vienna journal, 'Das Neue Wiener Journal,' a Jewish organ and, therefore, strongly opposed to Hitler, published a leading article stressing the fact that, since the Revolution of November 1918, great numbers of Jews had immigrated into Germany from Poland and Russia, who took no account of their civic obligations, but were ready to damage her interests if they should thereby

gain financially.

My banking friend told me that about a couple of years before Hitler's advent to power a new Belgian minister called at the bank with a letter of introduction. and inquired what my friend thought of the present Chancellor's prospects. The reply was that it was only a question of a short time before he would become absolute master in Germany. The minister then asked somewhat anxiously what Hitler would first proceed to do. answered the banker, 'I can tell you that at once. will immediately order the erection of two statues: one to Poincaré and the other to Tardieu!' The other day a German, a large textile manufacturer, entered into conversation with me in a train. He volunteered the information that people like himself had been greatly afraid of the course Hitler would pursue if once in uncontrolled power. But, he said, Hitler had so raised the national spirit and everything was so orderly that persons of my companion's class had become firmly loyal to him. The writer of this article was greatly impressed by the marked contrast between the courteous police in Berlin in 1933 and their republican predecessors. All this has, it would seem, a direct bearing on the Franco-German problem. Germany intends to stand firm for equal rights in every respect with any other nation. Nothing can stop her, for no Government would venture to face the uproar which would be caused by undertaking a preventive war, apart from the risk of failure such as resulted from the invasion of France during her great Revolution.

A vital part of any permanent solution is the question of overseas dominions for Germany. Long before 1914,

owing to her rapid increase in population, she felt the need for expansion abroad, just as Japan has experienced it. This is not imperialism. England was under-populated when she captured the huge colonial empire of France in East and West. But Germany is differently situated to-day, and statesmen might be wise to look ahead and not trust too much to luck. French trade and French finance are in a deplorable condition. But the armament makers in France are a great obstacle to any scheme of disarmament, for they control a large section of the French Moreover, the French still believe in the War Guilt legend, and, indeed, many British ministers have recently acted as if they also credit it. It seems that the only way to relax the present tremendous tension, and so to prevent another European war, is to take Chancellor Hitler at his word. Unless equality be conceded to Germany she will undoubtedly at some future date fight to obtain it. Mr Asquith and Sir Edward Grev loathed war, but their policy of secrecy entangled us in a net from which there was no escape. A Conservative Government, prior to 1914, would have openly announced what it would or would not do in certain eventualities. nation would then have decided on the course to be followed.

The Franco-German problem dominates everything else, for until it is permanently disposed of there can be no confidence between nations, nor, therefore, can the economic health of the world be restored. May not a too intensive search for security defeat its own object, judging by the ultimate results of this policy of Louis XIV, his successor, and Napoleon?

W. H-H. WATERS.

Art. 6.—ORIENTATION AND MIGRATION OF ANIMALS.

SETTING aside all controversial questions upon psychological matters, it may be interesting to consider the animal in the light of an intricate and highly developed piece of mechanism, embodying the functions of more than one infinitely sensitive instrument. The susceptibility of the animal to weather changes, in which respect it appears to possess the instinctive foreknowledge evinced by certain plants such as the scarlet pimpernel, wood-sorrel, and chickweed, is well known. In addition to the capacities of a barometer, however, it is further enabled, in a limited sense, to discharge the duties of a compass, or, more literally, an indicator of any direction in which it is desirous of travelling. Distance appears to be immaterial to the operation of this sense, since it can scarcely be classified as an instinct, and so far as can be estimated it is the common property of beast, bird, insect, and reptile alike.

Apart from its actual existence, which is too apparent to be challenged, nothing is known of this extraordinary faculty. Indeed, so far as scientific analysis is concerned, it might be dismissed in a sentence or two as synonymous with the ability to steer an uninterrupted course through unknown country, commonly exhibited by native guides, the secret of whose power is inexplicable even to themselves. Men who possess it usually accept it without question, being for the most part representatives of a type whose instincts are closely allied to those of wild creatures. Their attitude, indeed, closely resembles that of the shepherds whose lives are spent on Dartmoor. These men are frequently overtaken by dense mist when in pursuance of their duties, and for their own part are quite unable to extricate themselves from the dilemma in which they are placed. It is their custom, however, to place the onus of responsibility for the homeward route upon their ponies, whose ability to steer an unhesitating course is taken for granted, being regarded as no more remarkable than their own helplessness. It is tolerably certain, however, that not a shepherd upon the hills could supply a reason for so confidently assuming this sense of direction in the animals concerned. It is merely a sine qua non, as essential a trait of equine nature as natatorial ability is inseparable from a fish.

The foregoing instance, however, merely serves to illustrate the primitive human outlook upon recognised fact. Fog. being a matter of vision, in no way affects the animal's sense of orientation, of which in this case the domesticated horse does not provide a particularly apt example, since its course, though unhesitating, is prescribed. For the most part, it follows tracks, crosses streams and obstacles at familiar points, and the ease with which it selects its path might as conceivably be derived from an intimate knowledge of the ground as from actual sense of direction. The mist presents no difficulty, since at all times the beast follows the guidance of other senses than sight. An animal never forgets a trail that it has once traversed. When picking an almost imperceptible path across rocks or heather, no matter in what direction one is heading, it is noticeable than an accompanying dog seldom diverges by as much as a foot from the ill-defined but easier course indicated by the track. This is not a matter of orientation, since the line pursued may have no definite direction, and, so far as the dog is concerned at any rate, the destination is entirely unknown. It is merely a matter of adhering to a way which to human eyes is indistinguishable, although easily discernible to the animal by means of faculties that are not possessed by mankind. A blind man who knew his road would experience no inconvenience if overtaken by mist or darkness. and for the same cogent reason—that he is not dependent upon eyesight. It is not perhaps realised that in this lies one of the essential points of difference between human beings and animals. There are many observant naturalists who attribute the orientation of birds to the employment of keen vision, the recognition of landmarks and the exercise of memory. That birds recognise points in the landscape is probable, and there can be no doubt as to the keenness of their sight.

For present purposes it is sufficient to suggest that outstanding features of the country are more useful to avian visitors from overseas than to resident birds. Strangers frequently alight in conspicuous trees or coppices from whence to take their observations, and when visiting flocks remain in a neighbourhood for a few days, these places appear to serve, if not as actual indications of locality, at least as temporary headquarters. It seems

improbable, however, that resident birds, or those familiar with the country, should require any aid to their sense of direction. Such assistance would serve no apparent purpose. Even were sight essential, natural features, conspicuous to a man, would probably prove meaningless to a bird which could scarcely be expected to possess any idea of comparison or disparity, while, given a clear visibility, distinguishing marks would be useless to eyes before whose clear gaze the entire wide landscape would lie like an open and familiar book. Were visibility bad, upon the contrary, neither landscape nor outstanding features would be apparent, while the idea as a whole too strongly suggests the map or chart to be quite compatible with avian methods. While recognising, therefore, the utility of vision as a subsidiary factor, one must look farther for the key to the great mystery. One would suggest that in its indifference to sight lies the power, common to the bird and blind man alike, of recognising landmarks, not because they serve to indicate its route, but because they constitute conventional halting-places. Remove the wood or tree over which the bird passes-alighting or not according to its moodand its line of flight would remain unaltered. Erect some prominent obstruction, such as a new building, in its course, and it will not be deterred by the innovation. Indeed, one might almost believe at times that houses actually constitute avian landmarks-did such a system exist. In new countries where homesteads have sprung up between great lakes, wildfowl, unapproachable upon the shores, are often shot from 'blinds' no less conspicuous than farm buildings as the birds pass to and fro upon the airways that have so long been used that digression would constitute a departure from habit beyond the avian capacity.

Airways are no less pronounced than other routes of progression, and the curious irregularity of their course at times seems singularly inconsistent with the proverbial crow's flight from point to point. Unless actually crossing vast tracts of water, a bird's flight is seldom direct for any considerable distance. It is only necessary to watch the approach of some small denizen of the garden to obtain a tolerably accurate impression of the tactics adopted. It is usually a matter of stages, from one

favourite bush to another, and the same tendency is displayed by the larger aves when covering greater distances. Frequent breaks appear to be the rule of almost any overland journey, and the alighting places are selected with almost the same regularity as prescribed halts upon the old coach roads. There are certain trees or patches of wood in which they continually alight, others in which a bird is rarely seen, since these latter are situated, like out-of-the-way houses, at an inconvenient distance from the beaten tracks. These prescribed routes and resting-places are observed, not only by resident birds in their comings and goings, but by wandering 'tramps' and migrants alike. In late summer, when one's own swallows have taken wing, it is not unusual during the space of a week or two to see their favourite perches along the tennis wires occupied for a few hours by some passing company which has selected that particular spot in preference to any other in the neighbourhood. The precise advantage offered by these favourite halts may be apparent to nobody but the birds themselves. It is no more extraordinary that they should be imperceptible to mankind than remarkable that a bird should be unable to appreciate the points that especially commend a certain inn. The prescribed routes pursued by migrants or wide-ranging resident species may be preferable for many reasons, prevailing wind-currents among other things being doubtless taken into consideration. These probably play a larger part in the disposition of bird-ways than the casual observer might naturally suppose. Certain areas are always more breezy than others, irrespective of altitude, and even the sun may exercise a measure of influence.

There is need to discriminate between the true direction sense and topographical knowledge with which it may easily be confused. Resident animals usually possess both; a human being may acquire the latter and remain entirely devoid of the former. That the operation of the one may be offset by the other is quite conceivable. Were a bird or beast desirous of attaining some goal across strange country, it would obey the dictates of its instinct and take the most direct line from point to point. Were the land familiar, upon the other hand, the animal, for whom neither time nor distance exists as a practical

consideration, would almost certainly pursue a devious route of its own, by way of many points that it was in the habit of visiting when upon shorter excursions. Indeed, it seems possible that the resident animal as a general rule has no occasion to employ the actual orientation sense, since its knowledge of its environment is both intimate and extensive. As usual, however, in such questions, the precise point at which instinct supersedes knowledge is not easily determined. That the greater number of four-footed creatures primarily work upon their experience of the country is certain. When a dog is left to find its way home, or takes a walk upon its own initiative, like the moorland pony in the fog, it proceeds along familiar tracks from which it does not diverge unless to avoid contact with some one who contests the path. It does not think of cutting corners or by any means shortening the way, unless it has been in the habit of doing so upon previous occasions when accompanied by its owner. Yet instances of a dog's return to its home over long unknown distances have been related too frequently to require repetition, and upon many such occasions it seems certain that the animal's homeward route could not have been that by which it had been conveyed. It had probably found no previous need to employ its faculties for orientation, but the ability was there for use when required.

The case of the fox is similar. When hunted, it usually adheres rigidly to its own haunts, the amount of country that it covers depending mainly upon the age and experience of the animal. When a fox heads for some distant area—makes a long point, in sporting language one may safely assume that it is a native of the locality to which its course is directed. This type of fox-known as a 'traveller'-adopts very different tactics from the local animal, seldom lingering to try earths or even to explore other possible avenues of escape. Its one aim is to reach land that it knows, and in the pursuance of this end no apparent difficulty is experienced. There is no hesitation as to its course. It seems scarcely possible that the fox, intent all the while upon the amorous business which in such cases has usually been responsible for his journeying from home, took accurate account of the country through which he came. Indeed, it is probable that he described a veritable maze in the course of his quest, and in such a moment of extreme emergency a human being under similar circumstances would certainly forget any detail that had been committed to memory. The fox, however, labours under no such disadvantages. That he forgets is not improbable, for detailed memory where animals are concerned is largely a matter of association, nor is he likely to recall a single vista of the homeward way until it actually opens before him. He will be none the less certain of the line upon that account, and no matter how often he may be 'headed,' or diverted from the direct course, will never lose sight of his original purpose or err

with regard to direction.

In many respects the achievements of a beast when so placed are more remarkable than those of a bird upon a cross-country flight. The latter, when once aloft and under full headway with a favourable wind at its back and the green earth dim below, should find no difficulty in steering for a goal towards which it is impelled by forces as resistless as magnetism. There are no strange features or obstacles by which to be diverted in the wide skyscape, even adverse weather conditions being seldom encountered except in the longest flights, for the bird is usually more or less assured of a clear voyage before taking wing. The overland journey of a fox or dog across strange country may seem insignificant by comparison of mileage, yet viewed in a certain light it may be regarded as an even greater performance, since the objective is attained in spite of difficulties and distractions calculated to upset the most carefully conceived campaign. The task of steering a course through fog is easy when compared with that of proceeding through blind or broken country. In the one case it may be possible to maintain a sense of direction if deviation of any kind can be averted. When frequent turns are unavoidable, however, any idea of direction is inevitably lost to the utter stranger-or would be were he subject to human limitations-and one has only to consider the problems that must repeatedly confront a hunted fox to realise the power of that instinct or faculty which keeps his mask steadily set towards the right quarter of the compass.

In connection with a fox's line there is a further interesting point, which, if not strictly a matter of orienta-

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tion, is too closely associated with animal travel to be overlooked. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the system of communication prevalent throughout the world is so comprehensive that there is not upon the map a town or hamlet to which access by road is unobtainable. The way may be difficult, but its existence goes without saving, nor does the four-footed world lack a similar system. Every district is served by an intricate maze of animal highways and byways, which, upon the same principle as human roads and footpaths, are used by the furred population, thus connecting every part of the country where wild life still exists. Wherever there is an animal to be found, it has its runways, and these, like the halts of birds, are utilised by any passing stranger. A dog, when crossing a hedgerow, does not break through at the first point which catches his eve. If watched, it will be seen that he almost invariably selects a rabbitrun, if the path of no larger animal is available, and a fox when making a long point seldom, unless upon open ground, quits the approved highways of his race, if these lead at least approximately in the desired direction. Any one with experience will know many such tracks, usually most noticeable across lanes or ravines, or passing from covert to covert. Failing 'arterial roads,' by means of which to attain his objective, the fox, after the manner of all travellers bound upon an imperative errand, avails himself of the best path possible. That any beast can find a path of some sort is certain, and it is on account of this circumstance that rare wild creatures when passing through a strange district fall victims to traps intended solely for residents.

It must be clearly emphasised that this great universal system of aerial and terrestrial travel, while facilitating progress, has no natural connection with orientation. For the definite furtherance of the latter end it serves no purpose, any more than fog constitutes a hindrance. Indeed, it has been stated that birds upon migration actually prefer misty weather, since such conditions are seldom accompanied by high winds. Local birds engaged upon their everyday comings and goings dislike fog, however, as it destroys visibility and therefore constitutes a source of danger. They are confused by it, even as a human being would be under corresponding circumstances,

because unable to locate the whereabouts of an enemy or to observe the movements of their own companions. At the sound of a shot, wild pigeons, for example, circle in complete and panic-stricken bewilderment, as being unable to trace the origin of the sound. They adopt precisely similar tactics when fired at from heavy cover, and for the same reason. Fog also confuses wide-ranging birds in a different manner. At the moment, they have no definite goal in view, as is the case when they take wing from feeding ground or roost of their own free will. Under ordinary circumstances, when startled into sudden flight, they probably catch sight of some resting-place that suggests a haven where a change of plan can be considered. In this case, however, they see nothing but a grey, opaque curtain enclosing them upon every side. Having no destination in mind, the sense of direction is useless to them, and for the moment they are lost as completely as any 'pixy-led' tyro of the human race. Such, doubtless, is the momentary mental state of the terrified plover or wildfowl that in blind mist circles repeatedly over the unseen gun. Upon the other hand, fog presents no terror to the bird which has a definite goal in mind. Judging from personal experience wood-pigeons descend upon the familiar feeding grounds in even greater numbers when the landscape is mist-enshrouded than when clear weather prevails, even though miles of blind country may intervene between the cultivated fields and their roosting-place. Their superabundance at these conventional feeding grounds is significant, since it proves not only their ability to reach familiar fields, but the difficulty they experience in perceiving casual sources of supply which would otherwise have attracted a large percentage of the number. At such times, indeed, topographical knowledge is almost as indispensable to a bird as a sense of direction, since without the one little purpose would be served by the employment of the other.

Were the mental vision of a migratory bird capable of embracing anything beyond its immediate surroundings, the field of its imagination would be immense. For lack of knowledge which in all probability will never be available, one can only conjecture upon the avian geographical outlook. It is more or less generally supposed that species incapable of prolonged flight, when migrating

cross the Channel at the narrowest point, dispersing to their respective haunts after landing. The theory remains quite acceptable, being compatible both with reason and the comparatively local distribution of birds such as the nightingale, when one considers the stages that the broken journey involves. The route taken may be determined by research, but no system of study can reveal the processes by which the travellers become aware that the crossing point is reached. To follow a coast-line for hundreds of miles would tax neither brain nor instinct, but acute, indeed, must be the sense that indicates the necessity for the change from overland to overseas travel. Briefly, what suggests the closer proximity of the opposite shore? Sight could only assist in extreme cases at most, and even were the aid of vision assumed, its use would necessitate anticipation—a deliberate watch for the dim line upon the far horizon denoting the country or continent of destination. But the farther shore can seldom be visible when even the frailest bird commits itself to the venture. nor can it be supposed that the breeze brings any assurance of good things at no great distance away upon the other side, since by common assumption an off-shore wind is required with its promise of assisted passage before the migrants take wing. One is reduced at last to the bare admission that the birds must know both their direction and their geography, although the lesson is unlearned and no guides indicate the way.

Where no pronounced change of direction is involved, the proceeding is less incomprehensible. That birds should follow land as long as it plainly assists their course, taking to the sea when they can proceed no farther by other routes, seems only natural, nor is it surprising, perhaps, that reluctant fliers should obey the migratory urge as long as it can be followed without ocean travel, or that they should come to a halt when the sea-board is reached, the impulse to proceed being insufficient to overcome the disinclination to prolonged and arduous Of this type the woodcock provides an example, the comparative abundance of this species upon the southwestern coast-line being probably attributable to the intervention of the Channel, rather than to any special inducements offered by the Cornish woods and climate. It is possible, too, that many birds are vagrants rather

than confirmed migrants, and are kept upon the move more by the force of circumstances than by inclination. Taking the woodcock again for an example, its desultory course through the country in early December can scarcely be considered as representative of the ordinary route observed by any species upon migration. As likely as not, that particular bird has already journeyed southward far enough to satisfy the migratory impulse, and, if unmolested, would probably be content to lead a quietly nomadic life in any suitable district. Subjected to constant disturbance, however, and debarred by instinct from gravitating northwards, it is at length driven to the coast, which it reaches by no prescribed route. It may even then cross the Channel in the hope of finding the quietude that it seeks, although no longer under any imperative necessity to obey the migratory instinct.

It is perhaps doubtful whether any bird has a definite destination in mind when following the inclination of the autumnal movement. Presumably the journey ends when each individual or species has found its requirements, but whether the objective is visualised before being realised is another matter. It has vet to be discovered, indeed, whether an autumnal migrant has any definite objective to attain. One assumes that the bird which winters in foreign lands has no overseas home, and that it leads the same life during the non-breeding period that is led by our own semi-migrant species that have no regular place of abode. Research has revealed a great deal as to the regions into which our birds penetrate, but it has yet to be discovered whether an individual ever spends the winter in the same locality twice. It stands to reason that a fledgling when journeying southwards for the first time in advance of its parents can have no actual destination in mind, any more than the young eels, coming in from the ocean, can be capable of visualising the fresh-water home for which they are bound, and one is perhaps justified in raising the question as to whether the mental attitude of a more experienced voyager is any more definite. The southward drift is actually the satisfaction of a need, subconsciously acknowledged, a matter, perhaps, warmth attraction. As the summer heat recedes from the northern hemisphere, and with it the supply of food that warmth engenders, the bird instinctively realises

that conditions are no longer suitable to its manner of life, and automatically takes flight to other lands that still

offer the necessary amenities.

The object of the flight thus reduced to the simple. if unwitting, recognition of a need, it is not difficult to believe that the same instinct which suggested the need would assist its gratification by indicating the route to warmer latitudes. In actual practice migration may be comparatively simple. It may be nothing more than retiring before the chill wind-that same northerly autumnal breeze upon which may be heard the first faint footsteps of the advancing frost, the same wind that is supposed to impel the birds upon their way. That it should serve the dual purpose of messenger and carrier is only natural. and when aloft upon its ample wings, the little traveller may be guided to the nearest land by some simple form of earth magnetism, if one may use the expression in such a sense. Migration might thus be defined as the purely natural pursuit of requirements. It is probably upon this account that many birds, upon reaching this country in the spring, proceed to their destinations by way of watercourses. These of necessity follow the valleys where spring-like conditions are more in evidence, the latter inevitably attracting the birds which in no way require any guide to direction.

One might even include the spring migration under the same category of necessity, since the birds which visit this island for the summer months come, it would seem, for one purpose only—the rearing of their broods. Presumably the summer heat is too great for the successful undertaking of so delicate a task, purely tropical species, of course, being outside the argument. The effect of excessive heat upon nestlings is apparent, and if the English sun at times proves over-strong, it is easy to picture what their case would be in a torrid climate. It may be assumed that migratory birds move northwards solely to breed—a contention strengthened by the fact that non-breeders, or unfertile birds, do not participate in the movement, but the spring influx differs from the autumnal ebb in that the migrant's goal is definite. Were it not for the latter circumstance, the assertion that migration stands in a class apart from mere orientation would almost seem to be justified. Since the wanderer returns hundreds of miles 282

to a selected spot, however, it is clear that the one embraces the most unchallengeable and remarkable illustration of the other. Actually, the operation of the direction sense recognised, the return of the breeder to its own nesting-place is not so extraordinary as might appear at first sight. All things are relative, and distance from a bird's point of view is a purely negligible consideration. Return does not seem remarkable in the case of the resident rook or raven, both of which wander far afield, and the avian outlook, after all, is the same in each case.

As the breeding season approaches with its stirring emotional appeal, the bird becomes conscious of a need that its present surroundings cannot supply. Recollections awake of a distant place in which at some former time it experienced the full gratification of the desire that possesses it. It probably does not realise that satisfaction was found in surrender to the tender passions with the mingled joy and labour attendant upon a mate and family. Its one natural and irresistible impulse is to reach that spot, its whereabouts upon the map having nothing to do with the matter. The bird may be five miles away when the call comes; it may be five hundred. The connection that suggested the place is enough. The operation of a sense, probably simple, but as yet mysterious because completely unknown to science, achieves the rest. When grey skies prevail and wet weather sets in in September. the desire upon the part of a warmth-loving bird to quit our shores is not incomprehensible. Upon the other hand, we now and again experience a summer or cycle of summers when the response of wild life to the approach of another season—as yet scarcely apparent even to the discriminating human susceptibilities—is both interesting and unaccountable. One would like to fathom the influences that disturb the tenor of a swallow's life when conditions remain ideal, and summer 'that was so fair and is so sweet 'appears to be prolonging her stay indefinitely. In the early autumn of 1933, for example, our English skies were far from grey, while even our usually stormy seas almost rivalled the Mediterranean in their tranquillity and depth of blue. Yet the prevailing conditions in no way affected the immemorial procedure of the birds, even though insect life was still abundant, so far as could be

seen, while the night air remained far warmer than is often

the case during July. One cannot suppose that the swallows were conscious of the golden tints that diffused the woods—a premature symptom of autumn in somewhat curious contrast to the abnormally summer-like conditions-or that the harvest of berries had long been ripe. That the birds derived their information from a source more subtle than the changing colours of the landscape may be taken for granted, and so imperative were the instructions of the infallible oracle, that they took their customary departure in defiance of a state of affairs under which, logically, one might have expected them to start rebuilding. Doubtless the very wind that was responsible for the clear skies conveyed to the swallows the same message that it has borne for countless ages, and perhaps, too, the intuition of the bird originates in some degree from the shortening days, the haze that has crept into the air, and the increasing chilliness and tenacity of the dew which the sun can no longer dispel. Whatever the influences at work, the summons is as regular and imperative as the birds' response. Indeed, one might go so far as to say that in the case of a species so definitely migratory as the swallow, it is virtually impossible for the bird to overstay its appointed time of departure for any considerable period, and that the recorded instances of casual specimens that have been seen or found at odd seasons of the year are purely accidental occurrences, due to some circumstances so abnormal that they have no value from a scientific point of view.

Conformity to approximate date—a factor which appears to be virtually inseparable from the actual arrival or departure of the majority of migrants—is one of the points most difficult to reconcile with any theory. One does not imply that all birds of a species take wing upon the same date. It is obvious that they do not. There seems to be reason for assuming, however, that each individual has its own time, according to its destination, its birthplace, and, probably, most important of all, the date upon which it was hatched. This, needless to say, may be upset to some extent by abnormal circumstances, but in general the rule prevails. When the eminently mechanical nature of the entire proceeding is taken into

account, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that a great number of birds that are hatched in this country experience the first impulse to migrate upon attaining a certain point of maturity, second broods, as a matter of course, developing more rapidly by comparison, like late crops. If these theories are correct, the earlier flights, which, in the case of many species, are composed entirely of young birds, would consist of first broods and those hatched in early localities, all proceeding southwards in due rotation. When the same birds return the following season, their date of departure would probably depend upon their inherent impulse to reproduce, those which rear the latest broods being, presumably, themselves members of late hatchings in some previous year. seems extremely unlikely that any individual bird actually knows or recognises an approximate date for quitting its own place, while the day itself must necessarily depend upon atmospheric conditions. That the impulse to migrate, like all other natural processes, should be more or less regular in its operation is only to be expected, however, when one remembers that a wild bird as nearly as possible observes a prescribed date upon which to lay its first egg. There is no cast-iron law in this latter respect, but it holds good for the most part, as any one may establish by studying an individual pair year after year.

A bird with strong resident instincts, such as the carrierpigeon, is somewhat differently placed from the migrant, although possessing and exercising the same faculty. So conservative is its disposition that it can rest content nowhere except upon ground it knows, and when released among unfamiliar surroundings, its one consideration is to return home with as little delay as possible. It may be confined at a distance for months, or even for a year or two, but original impressions are indelible, and sooner or later, if physically capable of doing so, it gravitates back to its own dove-cote. In view of this pronounced characteristic of the domesticated pigeon, it is somewhat curious that the wild variety is not more strictly local in habit. Many species possess far stronger residential tendencies than the wood-pigeon, and it would be interesting to know whether a bird of such circumscribed range as a robin would return over a long distance to its own place. partridge, though frequenting a scarcely more extensive

area, almost certainly would not, and it is probable that a great many birds, unless naturally addicted to long flights, would adapt themselves to the circumstances in which they were placed, the homing instinct being insufficiently strong to inspire the necessary effort.

That birds should be greater travellers than beasts is inevitable. They have always the advantage of greater speed, being able in a few hours to traverse distances which a beast could scarcely cover in as many days. The sphere of their activities, again, is not bounded by the sea, which effectually stems the advance of four-footed creatures. It is mainly upon this account, perhaps, that migration upon a large scale is not habitual among the furred races, although it occurs overland in certain outstanding instances. Most noteworthy, though ancient history now, was the annual march, northwards and southwards, of the giant bison in the days when the shaggy ruminants roamed wild in countless thousands upon the plains of the North-West. There is nothing to-day to correspond with that stupendous ebb and flow of mighty four-footed life, although 'local migration' is always in progress to some extent among various races of deer and other creatures that are constrained to change their quarters in search of food. For the most part, however, so far as the furred races are concerned, the hibernating instinct takes the place of the impulse to migrate, being in truth nothing more than a recognition of the same need in creatures to whom it applies.

Migration constitutes an incomparable example of natural economy, distributing the bird life of the world, according to the season, over those countries which are best adapted to maintain the avian population. It serves the further purpose of a vast winnowing system, eliminating in its automatic operation the weak and the old which have become too decrepit to survive the rigid test of endurance. One wonders whether there is any truth in the story of the last and lonely journey which, according to old tradition, is undertaken by some of the larger birds and beasts away into the trackless wilds, or out upon the desert seas at the approach of death. The burial-place of the elephants is probably mythical, and the whole idea has doubtless been romanticised, but there is no doubt that a great number of creatures forsake their customary

haunts upon nearing the end. This point, however, is of only minor interest when compared with the great wonder of migration that has been operating before our eyes all down the ages, and is rendered only the more remarkable by the reflection that the solution of the problem is contained in the little animated bunch of feathers that constitutes a bird. And even more marvellous is the knowledge that the bird is in itself an irresponsible agent, a pawn, a unit, unconscious of the magnitude of its own achievement, each year embarking upon the great adventure without apparent demur or trepidation, until for one and all the day arrives when will exceeds ability, and the last long journey comes to an end upon 'the shore no search has found.'

DOUGLAS GORDON.

Art. 7.-BRITISH STRATEGY.

The British Way in Warfare. By Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Faber, 1932.

In the history of war far too little attention has been paid to what may be called 'national strategy,' in contradistinction to grand strategy and field strategy. As every nation is influenced by its geographical, topographical, climatic, and economic surroundings, so is its strategy equally influenced. In fact, these conditions must of necessity create a form of strategy patent to every separate country. Thus, during war-time, French strategy cannot be the same as German, or German as Russian, or Russian as British, and though to discover the differences between these various national strategies is a fundamental problem in war, here I will restrict my examination to that part of it which concerns ourselves,

namely, British strategy.

The first factor which confronts us is very obvious. As Great Britain is a group of islands, outside repelling an invasion all our war operations must in nature be amphibious. To examine the local difficulties of such operations as the capture of Quebec or the landing on the Gallipoli peninsula is insufficient; because, interesting as they may be, local operations will not reveal to us the mainsprings and levers of our national strategy. Instead, we must set them in a national framework and then extract from them their intrinsic worth as a whole. Consequently, the question I have set myself to answer is immense: no other than an examination of how our naval power can best be applied in a great war, a war such as the World War, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and the Seven Years' War. To seek a peg whereon to hang my arguments I turn first to a book recently written by Captain Liddell Hart, 'The British Way in Warfare,' in which is to be found an illuminating essay, 'The Historic Strategy of Britain.' With much of this essay I am in complete agreement; but first I will let Captain Liddell Hart speak for himself. In brief his thesis is: We are not a Continental Power, but an island situated on the rim of Europe, and yet, curiously enough, an island occupying the centre of the greatest

European trade-routes. Thus, before the Suez Canal was cut, by moving our fleet in an arc between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Skagerrack we could throttle practically every state in Europe. He says:

'Our historic practice . . . was based on economic pressure exercised through sea-power. This naval body had two arms; one financial, which embraced the subsidising and military provisioning of allies; the other military, which embraced sea-borne expeditions against the enemy's vulnerable extremities. By our practice we safeguarded ourselves where we were weakest, and exerted our strength where the enemy was weakest.'

In support he quotes such examples as Drake's raid on Cadiz; Blake's on Santa Cruz; Cromwell's attacks on the Dutch convoys; the capture of Gibraltar; the many captures during the Seven Years' War; Amherst's policy during the American Rebellion, and Pitt's policy during the French Revolutionary Wars. The clearest example, I think, is Amherst's. Captain Liddell Hart says:

'In the crisis Amherst, the chief military adviser of the Government, argued that "the future operations must be principally naval, to distress their trade and prevent their supplies from Europe," supplemented by a series of amphibious "attacks on every part of the American coast that is assailable."

Turning to the World War, he writes:

'In 1914-18 we fulfilled it [i.e. British strategy] in the naval and economic sphere, but in the military sphere we changed it for a revolutionary innovation, raising a huge army and employing the bulk of it for direct action in the main theatre of war.'

In his opinion, what we should have done was this: under cover of the blockade to have sent the Expeditionary Force to France as we did, and later on the newly-raised armies to Gallipoli, and to have attacked the Austrian Empire in the rear, and then, having really clinched with Germany, have come to terms with her. This fascinating essay is apt to captivate our imagination and sweep reason off its feet. As a skid on its fast-moving wheels, the first question I ask is: Does history support the theory that there is such a thing as a native British strategy? The answer surely is 'Yes'; for had not a

word of history been written, as I have said, it is obvious that we can only strike at our enemies through the use of our sea-power; sea-power is its fundamental element.

Granted, then, that there is a British strategy, I will turn to history and show that it has been rather haphazard. Captain Liddell Hart asserts, and I think soundly, that in 1914 we cast aside our native strategy and, accepting the Clausewitzian theory of war, thought in military terms in place of naval. Why did we so? My answer is, because between 1902 and 1914 we built up a respectable little army. If we had not had that army, if instead we had had the army of 1899, we never should have dared to do what we did, and quite naturally should have fallen back on our traditional policy. It is a little ironical, yet it is, I think, true, that the Haldane reforms wrecked our strategy, not because they were misplaced, but because there was no grand-strategical organ which could co-ordinate fighting-power. This truth, it seems to me, is of the highest importance, and should clearly be borne in mind when we place history in the witness-box. Also is it equally true that much of our strategy in the past has been dictated to us by our miserably weak little army as well as by our normally powerful fleet. This is no proof that military weakness is a strategical advantage; but it does modify the assumption that our past naval strategy has been based on such sound lines as Captain Liddell Hart imagines. Rightly or wrongly, I am inclined to think the reverse, and that though there are brilliant exceptions to my assumption, as a general rule our strategy has been extremely chaotic.

Obviously in an article of a necessarily limited length I have not the space wherein to ransack the pages of history, and so to begin with I examine one only of those chaotic periods—our strategy during the French Revolutionary Wars, that is, between Feb. 1, 1793, when the French Convention declared war on Holland and England, and March 25, 1802, when the Treaty of Amiens was signed. After this I will turn to our strategy during the World War. From the date of the battle of Valmy in September 1792, which was followed by the French invasion of Belgium, Pitt's policy was definite. We had guaranteed the Austrian possession of Belgium and honour dictated,

as again it did in 1914, that we should keep our word. Behind honour stood self-preservation; for if Holland fell into French hands, our naval supremacy and with it our very existence would be threatened. Consequently Pitt based his policy on the maintenance of the integrity of the Dutch Netherlands, and this demanded that Belgium should be maintained as a buffer State in strong anti-French hands.

What action could Pitt take? Our army was so small and in such a miserable state of inefficiency that he hesitated to send it overseas. Then he decided to do so, and the Duke of York was sent to join Coburg, the Austrian commander-in-chief, in Flanders. His army was quite inadequate, but it was all that could be scraped together. Simultaneously, as France was financially exhausted, Pitt decided to hasten her collapse by destroying her overseas trade. The French West Indies were in turmoil, and British battalions had already been sent out to safeguard the white population in Jamaica. To strike at these islands would, at the expense of France, bring trade to England and gain over the powerful West Indian interests. To do so by naval power alone was not possible, as these islands had to be conquered. Mobs of soldiers were hastily raised and sent out, with the result that, by the end of 1796, 40,000 men had perished and a further 40,000 were crippled for life. More men died in this economic attack than Wellington lost during the Peninsular War from death, discharge, and desertion, and France instead of collapsing grew in power. In 1793 the decisive point was Flanders and not the West Indies, and had England possessed a well-equipped army of 25,000 men, and had this army been sent there, it is not too much to suppose that France would have collapsed.

Whilst the weakness of the British army was misshaping strategy, the strength of the British navy suddenly confused the monster. French naval power was in a state of moral wreckage, and the South of France was in open insurrection, when on Aug. 26, 1793, Lord Hood sailed into Toulon harbour and, with the connivance of the rebels, occupied this naval base. Here was an opportunity to strike a decisive blow against the Revolution. Hood asked for 5000 to 6000 men, a totally inadequate force, as was pointed out to Pitt. What

should the Government at home do? Continue with the Flanders campaign or shift the bulk of the Duke of York's army to Toulon, for sufficient soldiers did not exist for both operations? Then the revolt in La Vendée attracted Pitt's attention, and the West Indies went on swallowing up reinforcements. Each of these operations demanded the entire British army then available; yet in place of selecting one of them Pitt selected all four! The result of this penny-packet system of attack, conceived by a weak army and nurtured by a strong navy, ended in three fiascos—La Vendée, Toulon, and Flanders; meanwhile

men perished by thousands in the West Indies.

Toulon lost, Hood sailed to Corsica, and the Government was embroiled in another operation, that of assisting Paoli. And Holland having been lost, it was decided to seize the Dutch colonies-the Cape, Cevlon, Cochin, and the Moluccas-which could do France little or no harm and further squandered British power. Lastly, in July 1795 an expedition was sent to the Ile d'Yeu, a tragic farce, and in April 1796 yet another was despatched to perish in the West Indies. Then came the turning-point. In April 1796 Bonaparte opened his Italian campaign and by means of levies from the Papal States refilled the French coffers. This directly led to the abandonment of Corsica and the withdrawal of the British fleet from the Mediterranean. Bonaparte's strategy was decisive: having defeated the Austrians in Italy, by the Treaty of Leoben he compelled them to surrender Belgium to France. The axle-pin of Pitt's policy was thus, after nearly four years of war, knocked out of the wheel of his strategical chariot.

I will now briefly examine this period, for it is extremely instructive. Insufficiency of troops and command of the sea were the foundation of British strategy, or lack of strategy. At first this command was virtually absolute; for the cant of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' had so rotted the French navy as to render it for the time being negligible. As the war lengthened out, from being actual this command became more and more potential. The French navy slowly but surely improved, and what was more dangerous still was that the rise of Bonaparte not only put new life and much money into France, but began to transform the Russian, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese fleets into potential instruments of French

aggression. Though not as yet actually so, latently our command of the sea was challenged. Its possible loss became apparent—then came the turning-point. In October 1796 Admiral Duncan defeated a Dutch fleet at Camperdown; on Aug. 1, 1798, Nelson destroyed a French fleet at the Battle of the Nile; in November in that same year Charles Stuart occupied Minorca; on Aug. 30, 1799, Abercromby captured the Dutch fleet in the Helder; on Sept. 5, 1800, Malta was occupied; on April 1, 1801, Nelson defeated the Danish fleet at Copenhagen; and finally on Oct. 21, 1805, the French and their allies lost all chance of gaining command of the sea at

Trafalgar.

Then and only then was true British strategy able to take form, and after twelve years of war; yet it must not be overlooked that had it not been for the military revival. mainly due to the Duke of York and Sir John Moore, which took approximately seven years to bring about, the power which command of the sea gave us could not have been taken full advantage of. Nevertheless, from May 1803, when the war was renewed, until 1809, when the Peninsular War was finally launched, we still see a number of harum-scarum overseas expeditions, such as another invasion of Holland and Sir David Baird's landing at the Cape, this last undertaking leading to the comedy of Buenos Aires and Monte Video. Yet do we also see true strategic counter-thrusts, namely, Abercromby's landing in Egypt in 1801, just prior to this period; the expedition to Copenhagen in 1807: Wellesley's landing in Portugal in 1808, and Moore's advance into Spain this same year. From now onwards sound economic and military attacks could be delivered, for British strategy to be put into force demands not only command of the sea and a small well-organised army, but also a sound co-operative plan.

Before turning from those distant days to the World War, it is essential to realise that grand-strategy is not merely an amalgam of naval and military forces, but a compound of all forces that can be used in war or which influence war. It is true to say that the strategical principles of war do not change, but when we attempt to extract lessons from history we shall fall into a sorry error unless we realise that the grand-strategical conditions of war are always changing. For instance, let me

for a minute or two compare the conditions of 1792 with those of 1914. In 1792 we were a true island, in 1914 our insular security was potentially threatened by airship, aeroplane, and submarine. Before the War was out we were attacked again and again by aircraft, and the underwater attack—delivered by a closely blockaded enemy—nearly brought us to ruin. More important still, though in these 150 years our wealth had increased out of all proportion, we had changed from a self-contained, self-supporting island to one so completely dependent upon our overseas trade that an enemy who could blockade us for a dozen weeks would reduce us to such a pitch of impotence that he possibly might obtain whatever terms he liked without setting a foot on our shores.

In brief, it may be said that whilst in 1793 our primary object was to take advantage of a Continental war in order to increase our wealth by seizing new sources of supply, in 1914 it had sunk to the prosaic position of guaranteeing the food of our people. Put otherwise, in 1793 our strategical urge was towards expansion, whilst in 1914 it was definitely towards self-preservation. In 1793 we were a young growing empire, having but just lost an older one; in 1914 we were fully grown, less ambitious, and more cautious. There are scores of other differences, but these few must suffice in leading us also to be cautious in drawing comparisons between 1914–1918 and 1793–1815 or any other period.

I turn to the World War. In 1914 we possessed the most powerful navy in our history, and though a small yet the most highly organised and efficient army we ever have had. France, our ally, possessed an immense army and a powerful fleet; yet on the outbreak of the War we did not hold the command of the sea, nor during the War did we gain it as we did at Trafalgar. So long as the German High Sea Fleet lay sheltered in the Elbe, because we depended for nine-tenths of our food on our overseas trade and could only concentrate the forces of the Empire by ship, the primary strategical object of our navy was a fourfold one:

- (a) To blockade the German fleet and ports.
- (b) To clear the high seas of German warships.
- (c) To protect our trade routes.
- (d) To secure our military overseas movements.

Obviously, had the German fleet sought battle, our own would have been delighted to engage with it. But were the Germans likely to do so, unless we so weakened our fleet by overseas expeditions that they could meet us on equal or possibly superior terms? With such a sword of Damocles hanging over our heads, would it have been wise for us seriously to have weakened our naval power in the North Sea? Obviously no, for bread alone dictated that it should remain there.

To turn to our army, how could it be employed? On Aug. 1, 1914, Mr Asquith wrote to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff saying that the Government were in no way committed to send the Expeditionary Force to the assistance of France. Therefore, the Government had a free hand? No, the Government was bound handand-foot to two lines of action and two only. It had either to keep the Expeditionary Force at home or send it to France; because the only plan which had been considered was the one made out for France. It could, if it liked, send small packets of troops anywhere; but in these days it is not possible to move 100,000 or 150,000 men with all their impedimenta to some distant shore without a plan and without the most detailed arrangements. Granted that the landing of the Expeditionary Force in France was inevitable, this fact alone ruled out of possibility any other strong overseas expedition for over six months; for the simple reason that no other trained troops except those in India were available.

Now I come to a point of especial interest to us. Whilst our military weakness prevented our sending a second expeditionary force to a secondary theatre, our naval strength coupled with the French naval control of the Mediterranean pulled the other way, and before the year was out an attack was made on Tanga and repulsed, and a landing was made at Fao; then, on Jan. 28, 1915, the British Government decided on a naval attack on the Dardanelles, and a landing was effected on April 25 and 26. The Eastern strategical school, to which Captain Liddell Hart belongs, says: Here was the decisive line of approach, and with better arrangements here was the place where British strategy could have been set in operation. Could it, granted the most perfect planning?

I give my own answers to this question:

(1) Our knowledge of the deficiencies in the Russian army, its ridiculous command at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes, should surely have warned us that Russian military forces to be of any assistance to the Allied Powers must rely on Russian strategy; that is to say, upon drawing their enemy into the vast Russian interior. Therefore, to help a Russian advance, which was the intention of this campaign, was not sound strategy.

(2) To land an army at the tip of a narrow peninsula 60 miles in length, almost roadless and broken by hills and gullies, in fact, a perfect defensive area and one possessing not a single port for disembarkation, was, to say the least, a bad

foundation for sound tactics.

(3) Granted that Constantinople could have been reached, which is, I think, granting a good deal, the fact remains that whilst the whole of the British communications, even if based on Marseilles, were attackable by submarines, those of Germany and Austria were by rail, and that the locomotive is quicker than the steamship. It is not too much to suppose that long before a British force could have moved from Constantinople the Central Powers would have attacked Roumania, bringing Bulgaria in against her and us.

For these three reasons—and others could be added— I am of opinion that Gallipoli was a bad choice. Already the submarine was beginning to show that we had not got the command of the sea as we had thought. On Feb. 18, 1915, Germany decided on her first submarine blockade of the British Isles; that is, one day before the first bombardment of the Dardanelles forts was opened. And had we embarked on decisive operations in the Balkansoperations which might well have absorbed a million men -and had Germany switched her submarines from the Atlantic and the North Sea to the Mediterranean, not only would the communications of this vast army have been imperilled, but to secure them, even partially, the Grand Fleet would have been denuded of destroyers and the opportunity might have arisen which was so longed for by the German admirals. It was because we had not a full enough command of the sea that the Gallipoli campaign is not a good example of British strategy. It is true that the Allied Powers did maintain, in spite of German submarines, considerable forces at Salonica until the end of the War. But had these forces become a decisive threat to German existence, it is more than likely

that Germany would have abandoned her blockade of the British Isles and have concentrated the bulk of her under-

water fleet against their communications.

For the sake of argument, let us rule Gallipoli and Salonica out of account: vet the question remains: Was it necessary to pour millions of men into north-eastern France? Was there no alternative? I think there was, and I will give it for what it may be worth. Italy renounced the Triple Alliance on May 4, 1915, and nineteen days later declared war on Austria. Now, had we, at the time we began to think about Gallipoli, said to Italy: 'We are raising powerful new armies which will be ready three months hence. If you will attack Austria on May 23 we will support you with 150,000 men and guarantee 500,000 more, I think Italy would have accepted the offer. And what would its advantages over the Gallipoli campaign have been? This great army would have operated from a friendly country with seacommunications based on Genoa and rail-communications via France no more open to attack than those used by the British army in Flanders. The only naval link in this line would have been the English Channel, which in any case had to be protected and was protected by British command of the North Sea. Therefore, had Venetia been chosen in place of the Gallipoli Peninsula, not a single destroyer would have been taken from the Grand Fleet.

If we had been brought up to think in terms of British strategy-that our army is virtually a projectile fired by our navy, not at economic gnats but at strategic elephants, we might then have seen that with ease our Grand Fleet in the North Sea could fire a formidable projectile into Austria from Venetia, whilst it was far more difficult for it to fire such a shot from Gallipoli without weakening its own position at Scapa Flow. Further, to turn to land strategy: Austria and not Turkey was the Achilles heel of the Central Powers. could be struck at from Venetia: why, then, start by kicking this heel at the big toe end-Gallipoli? As the crow flies, the Italian frontier is less than 200 miles from Vienna and Constantinople is 800 miles from that city. Also, striking towards Vienna would have adversely influenced the Austrian operations in Serbia. It is not too much to suppose that had we in 1915 attempted to do what Bonaparte accomplished in 1797, we might have upset the plan of our enemies as completely as he upset the plan of the Coalition Powers.

Thus far the past, and what does it show us? First, that although our strategy must through force of circumstances be based on sea-power, it should not be controlled and governed by sea-power alone; and, secondly, that it cannot be established upon a secure foundation until command of the sea is gained, and cannot be directed correctly and economically unless our army is strong enough to play a leading part. In an Admiralty memorandum, written in 1902, we read:

'To any naval Power the destruction of the fleet of the enemy must always be the great object aimed at. It is immaterial where the great battle is fought, but wherever it may take place the result will be felt throughout the world, because the victor will afterwards be in a position to spread his force with a view to capturing or destroying any detached forces of the enemy, and generally to gather the fruits of victory in the shape of such outlying positions as the New Hebrides, Fiji, Singapore, Samoa, Cuba, Jamaica, Martinique, the Philippines, Malta, or Aden, which may be in possession of the enemy, his shipping and commerce, even to prosecute such overseas campaigns as those in the Peninsula and South Africa.'

This is sound British strategy; yet it no longer applies, because the conditions in which the strategist is called upon to work have totally changed during the last thirty years. In 1902 the submarine was in its infancy and the aeroplane had not yet been born. To-day we are no longer the island that we were a generation ago. We can be starved out by a blockaded power and invaded by a power which does not possess a single warship. Consequently conditions have totally changed; yet in spirit the requirements of sound strategy remain identical.

First, we cannot indulge in extensive overseas operations until our home base has been rendered secure. Therefore, to surface command of the sea we must add command of the air and under-water command as well—two most difficult problems. Secondly, even if our home base is secure, unless we possess a network of flying-stations and landing-grounds in close proximity to our

main strategical sea-routes, we shall not be able to protect our overseas expeditions from air attack. Thus, whatever be the strength of our fleet, a hostile Germany can block the Baltic, a hostile France the Channel, and a hostile Italy the Mediterranean, unless we can decisively cripple these nations in the air. Can we expect to do this? I do not think so; for to gain and maintain command of the air at any distance from a land base is all but an insoluble problem. The fact is that we are once again at one of those great turning-points in history when the road we have been travelling ends abruptly and the country before us appears to be a trackless jungle. This country must be surveyed, and past history can teach us but little of this work. In fact, only to follow the past can

merely lead us into a strategical desert.

What, then, should we do? We must take stock of what we have-our navy, army, and air force, and equate their powers, in relationship to each other, with the new strategical and tactical conditions which to-day confront us. What is the use of a navy which cannot gain and keep command of the sea? What is the good of an army which cannot be transported over the seas? What is the good of an air force which for lack of ground organisation cannot effectively strike at the enemy? There are scores of questions like these, which call for an urgent and considered answer. Thus, through questioning ourselves, we arrive at the fundamental problem in our strategy, the creation of a strategical brain, scientifically organised so that it may examine our strategical problems with impartiality. Had such a brain existed in 1792 we could not have made the mistakes we did during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars; and had we possessed such a brain in 1913 we could not have squandered our forces as we did during the World War. Finally, unless we create such a brain, in the next war we shall not only repeat the mistakes of the World War, as during the World War we repeated those we had made during the French Revolutionary Wars, but shall repeat them in circumstances which are likely to prove so startlingly novel that we shall find no time wherein to establish any form of strategy, let alone a native British strategy.

Art. 8.—POETRY AND VERSE AND WORSE

1. Recent Poetry, 1923-1933. Edited with an Introduction by Alida Monro. Howe and the Poetry Bookshop, 1933.

2. Selections from Cowper, Poetry and Prose. Edited with an Introduction by Lord David Cecil. Methuen,

1933.

3. Summit and Chasm. A Book of Poems and Rimes. By Herbert E. Palmer. Dent. 1934.

4. Towards Corinth, O Englishman. Poems by C. H. O. Scaife, Cobden-Sanderson, 1934,

- 5. Unheard Melodies. By Lord Gorell. Murray, 1934.
- 6. Poems, 1912-1932. By Edward Shanks. Macmillan, 1933.
- 7. The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats. Macmillan, 1933. And other Works.

In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of-Verse; and much the same tendency, it would seem, persists-and with others beside the young man-through the summer, autumn, and winter seasons; to be continued in the next ensuing year and years-and so, ad infinitum! It is happily natural for Humanity in its exhilarating hours to sing, and frequently, though sometimes not so happily, to print its song; with the result that every year some hundreds of volumes of verse are published *; and out of that spate or shoal or visitation of imprinted ecstasies (so to speak) we now have caught a few which may help us to estimate the spirit and conditions of poetry in England to-day. And what of it? Considering all things, it is not so bad. Indeed, on the whole it is rather surprising that in this frankly practical age, with the general thought given so determinately to material considerations-scientific tariffs and super-taxes, international trade-agreements, monster amalgamations of business enterprise, rights of labour, speed records, the rapid developments of mechanistic possibilities, impossibilities, and very much else—so many poets, versifiers, and rimesters should find it worth their

^{*} The figures are summarised after the conclusion of every year in the 'English Catalogue,' issued by the Proprietors of the 'Publishers Circular.' In 1932, 673 volumes of 'Poetry and Drama' were published; in 1933, 676.

while, and occasionally the cost they privately must bear, to pen the thoughts of their hearts, or vanities, and induce

publishers eventually to print them.

At the head of this article a casual list of books of verse appears, an haphazard collection which enables us to examine, and on the whole to appreciate, the general trend of present-day poetry. And that is as should be. The former fervour of gloating and intemperate damnation which gladdened Croker in the presence of Keats (alas! and in the pages of this Review-which, however, has long since lived down that savage and tartarly naughtiness) and Macaulay, far more excusably, in the presence of Robert Montgomery, and any number of other more recent raging critics who stormed before the preposterous and extraordinary popularity of a Martin Tupper or an Ella Wheeler Wilcox, is not in any way a part of our present humour. For we realise that although in these days there is no assured particular star, glorious in the poetic firmament and with its brilliance destined to remain there and illuminate the century to come, there yet is any amount of courage, adroitness, and sincerity-with, also, any amount of slipshod bathos and sheer bunkum-in the verse of these times. In its character, of course, the poetry of any day must represent something of the spirit of the age it belongs to: living poetry being a mirror reflecting the realities of nature and humanity, and of man's environment, as well as an expression of rejoicing in the beauty and wonder of the world. So that if that insistent institution, the Machine, is the outstanding god-monster of these days, it is inevitable that to some extent the verse-makers, in viewing the world and expressing their reactions to what they see, should represent something of the energy and even of the clamour abounding, as well as the blessed sense of peace which comes to the sensitive spirit in the silences which follow the noise, when the clatter of industry is hushed and the stars get their chances. And with the rebellious energy of youthfulness, which is bound to some extent to inspire the new verse, there must be also a challenge, though sometimes exaggerated, forced, ridiculous, to the aims, ideas, and ideals of the poetry of the generation that had gone before.

Convenient to our purpose here is an excellent

anthology, edited by Mrs Harold Monro, whose name reminds us of one who gave generously of his means and gifts of mind to further the love of verse in his generation. 'Recent Poetry' contains examples of the good and the not-so-good verse of the past decade, and is liberal enough of spirit to contain poems by Mr Yeats, Mr de la Mare, and a few others whose works stand for the older traditions. This volume helps our present purpose through the challenge expressed by Mrs Monro in her introduction. The modern poet, she claims, 'is accused of having no faith and no ideals, of writing unintelligibly, of being too much occupied with social problems, of ignoring the "big themes" and of possessing no moral standards with which to improve a world waiting for a message.' All that is a good deal true, and we appreciate the courage with which these definite inadequacies, general but not absolute, in the verse of to-day are there acknowledged. As, though with another intention, Mr Michael Roberts, 'On reading some neglected Poets,' or, rather, ploughing through their arid pages, also says:

'This is a long road in a dubious mist;
Not with a groan nor any heard complaint
We march, uncomprehending, not expecting Time
To show us beacous.'

Alter the adjective in his title from 'neglected' to 'modern' and how true in very many cases his depressed words remain! There is a need among present versemakers and an obligation expected from them for the larger, brighter vision, the ennobled and ennobling purposes, the faith in ideals, the sense of wrongs to be righted, which most of the older generation of poets possessed. But it is necessary at once to mark the dangers of a false comparison. The Masters who have endured in any branch of art were the outstanding, the best of their time, and, therefore, it is not fair to compare with their achievements the merely average work of any other period. For we may take this as true, that, while we have at this historic moment no poets equal to Keats or Spenser or Shelley or Chaucer or Blake, to sing our hopes, visions, experiences, and emotions, the average work of the verse-makers of this day is probably finer than was such average in any other period of our literary

history with the solitary exception of the Elizabethan; when most men, stirred by the explorations, discoveries, achievements, and victories they then gloried in, appear to have shared a widespread poetic impulse and the power of expressing it. At every other age, even including the Augustan, an infinite amount of sapless, mechanical, or fluffy verbiage, cut into-oh, such regular lengths, inestimably tedious, marked the efforts of the rank and file. And how proud they were of their 'e'ens' and 'gladsomes,' their sighs and deadly sentimentalities, and their national brag! It is not so bad now, although inside, and certainly outside, Mrs Monro's anthology there are many examples, examples sufficient, of sham inspiration and complacent incompetence, uttered by versifiers who, if they really were poets, would certainly have known better. Unfortunately, so often the incompetent bewreath and noisily belaud the incompetent, and for the silly reason that they all in their several ways are incompetent.

There is much that is good in this well-selected anthology, and, leaving aside for the time Mr Yeats, whose 'Collected Poems' follows in our list, the best work, judged by the examples printed, comes from the inspired imagination of Mr Roy Campbell. He has vision blazing with light and colour, different far from the mere photographic, nerveless meticulousness of so many of his contemporaries; and not the best of his examples in this collection is his sonnet, 'The Zebras,' which we quote because of its convenient brevity:

'From the dark woods that breathe of fallen showers, Harnessed with level rays in golden reins, The zebras draw the dawn across the plains Wading knee-deep among the scarlet flowers. The sunlight, zithering their flanks with fire, Flashes between the shadows as they pass Barred with electric tremors through the grass Like wind along the gold strings of a lyre.

'Into the flushed air snorting rosy plumes
That smoulder round their feet in drifting fumes,
With dove-like voices call the distant fillies,
While round the herds the stallion wheels his flight,
Engine of beauty volted with delight,
To roll his mare among the trampled lilies.'

Admirable also, especially, are the offerings of Mr de la Mare, 'To K. M.'; of Mr Richard Goodman, 'Poem with Cowslips'; of Miss Edith Sitwell, 'Colonel Fantock'; of Miss Ruth Pitter's ironic 'Portrait of a Gentleman'; of Miss Pamela Travers, her lovely and courageous 'Joseph in Bethlehem'; of Mr F. R. Higgins's 'Padraic O Conaire.'

'Alas, death mars the parchment of his forehead;
And yet for him, I know, the earth is mild—
The windy fidgets of September grasses
Can never tease a mind that loved the wild;
So drink his peace—this grey juice of the barley
Runs with a light that ever pleased his eye—
While old flames nod and gossip on the hearthstone
And only the young winds cry.'

Readers who turn to those particular poems will recognise the truth that their qualities are such as approach most nearly to the excellence, in colour, largeness, and brightness of imagination and beauty of expression, enjoyed and practised by the earlier established poets against whose laurelled imperturbable heads Mrs Monro evidently is more than a little inclined to hurl her attractive book. By comparison with those betters, how bald and merely 'slick,' plodding, and self-satisfied and often without a meaning worth the gathering appears much of the verse of this day! Here are stanzas taken—honestly and fairly—from an effort by Mr William Empson, entitled 'Arachne.'

- 'Twixt devil and deep sea, man hacks his caves; Birth, death; one, many; what is true, and seems; Earth's vast hot iron, cold space's empty waves.
- 'King spider, walks the velvet roof of streams; Must bird and fish, must god and beast avoid; Dance, like nine angels, on pin-point extremes. . . .
- 'Bubbles gleam brightest with least depth of lands But two is least can with full tension strain, Two molecules; one, and the film disbands.'

If that has a meaning it is not worth the toil of the search for it, and poetry, whether ancient or modern, at least should be lucid to ordinary minds. The perplexing modernist may retort with the words 'Robert Browning.'

Well, that poet had his difficulties and incomprehensibilities; but when one delved into his obscurities the meaning nearly always was soon found (though once or twice there was a meaning known to the Almighty alone, because Browning had forgotten it); and the modernists may successfully defend their obscurities when they are able to place beside them from the same pen such shining, moving, and simply-ennobling poems as 'Prospice' and that 'Epilogue to Asolando' with which Browning drew down the curtain over his generous mass of fine achievement.

It is time, however, to turn to other verse than that of this anthology; but before we come to certain individual poets, let us salute with a cheer the art of the simple-minded and loving-hearted Cowper, of whom we are reminded by the 'Selections of Poetry and Prose' which Lord David Cecil has chosen and introduced. After the complacent and conceited cleverness of so many (but not all!) of the little people, what a relief, and how strengthening it is, to come to Cowper's naturalness: although he did generally spend his genius on such commonplace subjects as a tame hare, a retired cat, a sofa (in many scenes), and the excursion, willy-nilly, of a Cheapside citizen along that road to Edmonton where in a few months' time our thoughts will be travelling in the loving homage of one of the spiritual kindred of Cowper-Elia: ours, although he loved not the 'Quarterly.' Whoever can read of the dashing adventure of John Gilpin-even for the thousandth timewithout feeling gladness and laughter had better have his heart tested. Something's wrong with the invisible part of the man. And an excellent antidote it proves to the effects of many of those clever small modernists.

To return to other poets of to-day and their individual volumes. The work of Mr Herbert E. Palmer brings an effective answer to those who would assert that there now is little or none of the old laureate virtue in England. Through his poetical ability, the frank, simple beauty of his work, his willingness to adventure to all ranges of lyrical expression, Mr Palmer has won a distinguished position, which this new volume, 'Summit and Chasm,' despite its occasional uncertainties, will enhance. It has beauty and power, qualities which so many affected

modernists are apt to decry because they do not possess them, as well as a generous sympathy for the less fortunate in this costermonger carnival—'this twisting, curious causeway we call Life.' If available space and the editorial conscience permitted we should quote much from this harvest of good things; but we must be content with little, and that truncated. Here are four selected stanzas from 'A Coal Miner's Disgust,' a poem worthy to be placed beside almost anything else of its social, humanitarian kind:

'Twenty weary colliers were walking out to dine,
Bandy-legged and black-faced, up from the mine.
Said the wisest to the dullest, "Now, I'll tell you what I
fears,
We've been mucking up the country for a hundred bleeding

years. . . .

- "And all to make a million oiled wheels go round!
 I can hear 'em in my head when I'm hewing underground,
 Hear 'em in my head till the coal-roof reels.
 Listen to the whirring and the winding of the wheels!
- "Christ! the blind faces in the street gone blind!
 Blind alley-places, and blind leading blind!
 Look at them and weep, till your brain-roof reels.
 Listen to the whirring and the winding of the wheels!
- "Scarce a single parson heaved the shadow of a sigh;
 God was with the prosperous, and Christ was in the sky.
 Mates! the flaming dawn behind us is fogged with filth and
 tears:

We've been mucking up the country for a hundred bleeding years."

That poem expresses but one of Mr Palmer's numerous moods, and if the ironic appears to be the most insistent among them—and can it well be otherwise to a sensitive observer at this super-material time, when the shadows of the slyly laughing gods can almost be seen stalking Dives along his golden, beggar-haunted pathways?—there still is plenty of loveliness in his verse, and tenderness. Ingenuity also. Only one stanza, the first, can be quoted from 'The Coming of the Flying Man,' but it is the luminous expression of a scientific truth and in its happy compactness a triumph:

'Once the skin of the earth was tormented with wriggling things,

Things crawling, and creeping, and twisting their bodies in rings.

But one of them noticed the trees,—aspired as he stared; Then drifted on pinions—and that was the birth of the Bird.'

We pass to the poems of Mr C. H. O. Scaife, 'Towards Corinth, O Englishman.' His Muse is careful. She takes no liberties and, therefore, has none of the impulsive fire and gladness which-often it may be by a fluke-are a part of that essential constituent of vital poetry which is known as divine carelessness. Also, she wears a grey robe, making her of the company of the clouds, and is thoughtful rather than inspiring over the infinities which, like the poor in life, are always with us in poetry. At the same time Mr Scaife's verse has stateliness and is capable of bringing soothing to those in spiritual concern. Possibly the best thing in his book is the dramatic poem, 'Death's Triumph,' in which the exalted theme having wings has carried him higher than could the other efforts wherein his feet have kept steadfastly, though not heavily, to the Earth.

Enter Lord Gorell !-- and enter with him one or two minor perplexities. Somebody has been pleased to compliment him by swathing his attractive volume—with its modest, happy title, 'Unheard Melodies'-in quotations of praise for him, as a poet, of such eloquence and undoubted authority—the writers being such as the late Lord Haldane, John Bailey and Sir Edmund Gosse, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Sir Henry Hadow, Professors Lascelles Abercrombie and J. W. Mackail-that in the face of their great orchestra what can our present tribute be, true and laudatory as it is, but meagre as a penny That sort of thing is hard lines on any reviewer and not really helpful to the author. Then we come to his amazing versatility that touches so many aspects of the arts and services which generally he adorns. Here we have the poet, and we know him besides as a successful novelist, an essavist, a water-colour painter of sincerity and charm; and even further than that, as a statesman, an administrator, an editor, a widely-sought lecturer-it looks as if the Admirable Crichton must lose his legendary bush of bays in the presence of his lordship! We were bound to remark on this many-sidedness, because it brings the wonder whether latitude should be given to him because of that versatility, for if he had not been so variously gifted and rather had concentrated on only one or two of his many artistic interests, might not his work in those one or two departments have been even better than it is? Anyhow, it occurs to us that when the fairies (in their old-fashioned way) were beside his cradle, endowing him with their manifold generosities, they might have increased the value of their gifts by adding to them a delicately pointed blue pencil.

Lord Gorell is possibly happiest when he has forgotten that he is writing verse and been caught in the reality and

simplicities of the world of nature about him:

'... the bat's a-wing,
The field mouse dares to nibble at the ear
Down-broken in the stook that darkly stands
Awaiting still the morrow's harvester,
The owl takes up her melancholy plaint—
And Man, reprieved a little thread of time
From all the strident science that invades
Day's ancient monarchy, is once again
An infant sleeping in the arms of God.'

Charming and complete, sufficient and therefore successful. Next to Nature the thought of Love evidently has moved him to lyrical expression; but it is Love the spiritual force rather than the passion which has given urge to his heart and pen-a gracious spirit that in some respects is limited because its happiest sphere of influence is the home, which, after all, is surely the truest and properest place for it. Sometimes he sees Love as one of the eternities immanent in the world and suffusing nature with its graciousness; at other times as a rosy cherub, with winglets hidden, smiling in a perambulator. And then, in equal sympathy with Nature and Love-England. Here are poems-' L. 55' and 'English Earth' amongst them-wherein the right order of patriotism—the felt and not the brazenly trumpeted is nobly and simply voiced, stirring those deeper chords of which most of us Englishmen are apt to be, as it were, a little proudly ashamed. Other pieces of particular quality are 'Time's Fool,' a sadly ironic comment on the futility of poor Richard Cromwell, 'Queen Dick';

'Fame,' with its recognition of the obliterations wrought with comparative rapidity by the indifferent scythe of Time; and 'Immutability,' a confession of faith honourable to its writer's moral courage and intellectual honesty. . . . And now would have come that usual brief summary of appreciation for the work as a whole, which, however, may not be uttered because of the aforesaid chorus of authorities whose resounding symphony makes us merely as the player of a penny whistle.

A year ago we paid a grateful tribute to Messrs Macmillan for their enterprise in publishing from time to time volumes of complete poetical works. Then it was for the very full garnering of Mr Laurence Binyon's and Mr T. Sturge Moore's poems, the one in three, the other in four, handsome and well-printed volumes. We have before us now the massed poetry, covering a span of a full score of years, of Mr Edward Shanks, and a similar collection of Mr W. B. Yeats's lyrical works, which began so long ago as towards the end of the 'eighties and still go on, not so much, be it remarked, with the endlessness of Tennyson's chattering brook as with the complacent fullness of a well-fed, bountiful river. There is something curious, possibly a little bewildering, about the output of Mr Yeats. Almost every six months or so, as it seems (but our impression may be wrong), a new volume of his 'complete works' is issued, and always with a fresh portrait-frontispiece-but possibly this apparent multiplicity is due to his popularity as a poet whose works should be and are purchased and therefore newly and continuously required and reprinted. it is a gratifying circumstance and we congratulate him on the profitable fact. It certainly is comforting and encouraging to discover that sometimes, and especially in bulk, poetry pays.

We will in the first place, however, discuss the assembled results of Mr Shanks's industry and inspiration. We find him in his preface mildly disquieted. His impulse to verse has slackened and seems ended; and he wonders why this should be so, because he still wants to write poetry but finds that he cannot do so.

'Poetry is produced by an effort of the mind and the nature of that effort is open to examination. The mental process by which it is produced bears at many points a close resemblance to the processes of the dreaming mind, which have recently proved so fruitful in suggestions, even if some of these suggestions remain enigmatic. I am convinced that a following of this clue would not only result in an addition to our knowledge of the human mind but would also be all to the good of literature. It helps no one, either writer or reader, to suppose that there is something magical or ultimately inexplicable about any poetry, even the highest. Shakespeare and Tupper wrote under the same laws—one with more success than the other.'

We are happy to turn aside from our main purpose in order to consider that passing question, for it is interesting and not difficult to answer. There are verse-makers, and the late Mr Tupper doubtless was one of them, who could sit down to a desk at any odd time and turn outturn out is precisely the expression—the requisite quota of lines and find it satisfactory, smooth, easy-going, and requiring no felt sacrifice of emotion or of physical or mental effort to accomplish it. That, however, was the fortune and the province of the mere verse-maker. The poet is different. He must feel his message or be compelled by it. It is his heart, his whole being, that sings; and it is not difficult to believe that many of the best poems, those which linger in the gladness of our hearts and memories making them also sing, came, without their writers knowing it, out of a rapture which was produced by the forceful spirit of an hour, a year, a time. All the Elizabethans were singing-men because their pride and gladness were aroused by their experiences and the tales told of wide adventurings and discoveries and splendid fightings on the high seas. But when the primal cause of the impulse passes, then the impulse itself goes, and so evidently has it been with Mr Shanks.

It is clear from the revelations of these five hundred and more pages with their contents arranged in chronological order, that two distinct emotions at different times, and also simultaneously, have roused and ruled him. The first was Love, sacred and profane, emotional, physical; the second the War, which brought into vocal being so many poets who since the less glorious Peace was rejoiced in have been silent. All Mr Shanks's best poems might come under those two heads; while the

others, which are mainly intellectual, are of mere ordinary concern. He was certainly an ardent lover and he sings his passion with a force and a melodiousness which also suggest that he had read widely, profitably—and rightly—from the immortalities of Milton, Spenser, and Keats. Take, for example, these stanzas from 'Pastoral,' probably the most effective poem in the whole book; and again we lament the necessity of picking and choosing from twice the number of stanzas equally good:

'He followed on a root-entangled road,
Through sighing saplings, under blossomed trees,
By hollow trunks whose murmurs faint forebode
The labour and the anger of the bees.
Still he essayed her flying form to seize,
That still escaped the clutching of his hand,
And followed on the flashing of white knees,
Till in an open glade she came to stand.
He caught at her, they fell, far from the pasture land.

'The fauns had played with her by night and day
And kissed her, lip and breast and flank and eye,
And Pan had sought her bed one night to stay
An hour or two until the moon was high.
She knew the forest's starlit revelry
But he was nurtured in a village low
Where men are born and breathe and eat and die
By consecrated rote and do not know
How headier than the grape love's dizzying wine can flow.

'They loved in youth and joy and kindliness
In hill-side hollows hidden out of sight
And forest alleys which the quick months dress
In changing colours for unchanged delight.
She seeks him in his orchard trees at night
And there they lie till dawn on fallen flowers,
He on her mouth and rosy breast and white
Limbs gladly spending all his youthful powers,
While the faint stars mark on the ever-marching hours.'

In all that there is an exultation, riotous and pagan, that belonged to the real man who was glowing, rejoicing, compelling, triumphant over it; and, therefore, it secured expression worthy of itself. His war-poems, in their different ways, also have reality. We recognise in them the willingness and pride of the going-forth, the grey desultoriness of the marching and fighting, and the

bitterness of being at home, idle, wounded, compulsorily retired, when the comrades 'out there' were 'carryingon,' and, finally, the disillusionment which was bound to come when those who had striven and suffered saw the politicians spoiling, as it appeared to them, the spiritual and positive victory gained. As with most collections of the kind a good deal might well have been left out of this volume; but yet the mass of it is finished, stirring, and beautiful-'Godiva,' for instance, and 'The Fireless Town,' and 'Armistice Day, 1921,' and many things else-proving that Mr Shanks, before his vein had exhausted itself, was a true and excellent poet. It is rather hard that he must discover a new passion or that we must have a new war, which we hardly can afford, before he will be able again to borrow and thrum with charm and conviction the lyre of Apollo. But there it is! Evidently it is not the poet who can achieve a

song by just turning a handle.

Last of this group of poets and others, we come to Mr Yeats and are glad of the opportunity to consider and appraise the whole of his Muse's offerings. He stands for more than any of the others whose works we have been considering, including the congress within Mrs Monro's anthology, because of his long length of service and the brooding care with which always, in and out of his seasons of inspiration, he has built his song. As his poems generally also are printed in their chronological order we are able to follow his progress from the beginning of golden promise, through the expansion and the subsequent period of barrenness and flatness, to the final recovery of his poet's self. Within the compass of this book we behold three different aspects of Mr Yeats; in his earliest poetical hesitating adventuring with the romantic, shadowy, elf-haunted world opening wonderfully before him; then through the years wherein he largely over-wrote himself and incidentally was seriously distracted and spoilt by flatteries mainly connected with the Abbey Theatre of Dublin-of which if the occasion and the spirit of uncharity served we could some tale unfold; until with his increase of years and ripe maturity and, respectfully we say it, his marriage, which evidently found and released in him a new confidence and manlier forces, he has become, perhaps not quite so appealing

and picturesque a figure as in the young beginnings, but assuredly stronger, more actual, more closely in touch with the real world that he now can serve well, if he will, with his verses; and, therefore, a more valuable influence

and example than before.

How exquisite often was his earliest work! One recalls the thrill which came with those wistful, colourful words and the glimpses gained of fairies flitting, not quite visibly and with songs not quite audible but unquestionably to be heard and seen by the attentive heart, through pagan woods and meadows of dreaming grasses and flowers. And the sureness of his touch when he found a subject more positive than the incoherences born of what is called a Celtic twilight!

- 'Down by the salley gardens my love and I did meet; She passed the salley gardens with little snow-white feet. She bid me take love easy, as the leaves grow on the tree; But I, being young and foolish, with her would not agree.
- 'In a field by the river my love and I did stand, And on my leaning shoulder she laid her snow-white hand. She bid me take life easy, as the grass grows on the weirs, But I was young and foolish, and now am full of tears.'

Why did not the poet who wrote that keep true to the tradition it represents? But he did not, and thereby lost clearness and sureness of touch, taking on vagueness. That Celtic twilight has much to answer for. And why did he not make it a part of his life-work to chant in poetry the epic of the Irish heroes of legend as Lady Gregory did in her 'Cuchulain of Muirthemne' and 'Gods and Fighting Men'? There was a work, passionate, dramatic, splendidly national, calling as insistently to be done by a poet of his standing and gifts as had been the English cycle of 'Morte d'Arthur' before Malory put it into his vigorous and richly-hued prose. It is true that Mr Yeats has told in verse a few of the episodes of the Irish legends-of Oisin, Mæve, Ængus, and Baile; but not with the zest, poetry, or imagination of Lady Gregory's prose. It may be that the work is more possible to him now, in spite of his added and greying years, because of the increased strength and confidence those years have brought him. But such a task really calls for the fire and ardour of youth.

It is unnecessary to dwell on that flatter period of his poetic life, comparatively extensive though it was, when he was a good deal less than himself, and, at the same time, in a peculiar manner, somewhat more than himself, he being then not a little egoistical, far more so than he can have known; the consequence of much admiration and spoiling. For that egoism seriously affected his spiritual development and output, and to some extent, it seems, lingers even to these more stable and disciplined years.

'I, the poet William Yeats,
With old mill boards and sea-green slates,
And smithy work from the Gort forge,
Restored this tower for my wife George;
And may these characters remain
When all is ruin once again.'

That is so like him! Words, lines, of a simplicity suited to their domestic purpose, but not of value enough to come within this printed book; and curious it is that all about them may perish-that house and those boards, slates, and smithy-work-so long as 'the poet William Yeats' still has his name there graven in stone for the eyes of the cheaply curious, generations hence, to read. Only because it is characteristic of a tendency which has marred the precious spirit and development of this poet have we quoted that incident, but, looking back on the long record of his literary life, those poor words are significant. Rarely has he been rid of an imprisoning self-consciousness. And what of the future of Mr Yeats? The present has its promise and the future its hope. still is young enough in spirit and even more effective in authority and craftmanship, as his later work testifies, to be able to do much that is good and endurable if he will; while many questions which would be helped by his treatment of them-spiritual, social, political-in Ireland and in Great Britain are surging to the front and calling for the clear voice of the Poet in noble guidance. Incidentally, Mr Yeats might well make it a part of his poetic mission to bring the two estranged countries together, for that certainly is a case where the songmaker may heal where the politicians have seared and wounded.

And it need not be so limited as that. More than

once in these pages we have called for the Poet to accept the opportunities given to him and be more of a public voice, an inspiration to his day, expressing in the beauty of language that is his particular gift, ideals; damning the wrongs: building the larger hopes—being something of what Shellev might have become if his contemporaries had been more sympathetic to him and his social gospel, at least for the times he lived in, a little less embittered, stubborn, and wild. The Poet Laureate might lead in this, and our earliest appeal of the kind two years ago was made to him; but it does rather appear, and we say it in no ungenerous spirit, that since Tennyson died the official Laureates-ignoring the one who could not sing at all-seem to have clung somewhat closely to the safeties of a splendid silence. It all seems rather a pity. Will Mr Yeats not better the condition, and help our civilisation, which, despite the material successes, has fallen into a slough of muddlement, to get out of it, by reminding us in ringing syllables of the duties of humanity to itself in a world over which too often the stars are clouded by the smoke of factories and there still are slums wherein no flower or hope could grow?

C. E. LAWRENCE.

Art. 9.—LAFAYETTE.

A CENTURY ago—on May 20, 1834—there died a man who made a very considerable contribution towards the success of the American War of Independence, and who fought for ordered government in his own country throughout his life, after that cause was won. The Marquis de Lafavette or, to give him his full description, 'Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert Dumotier, Marquis de Lafayette, Baron de Vissac, Seigneur de Saint-Romain et autres places,' belonged to the highest of the French aristocracy. He was born in 1757, and came into a fortune at the age of thirteen. At sixteen he married a member of the great house of Noailles. Two years after this he was quartered at Metz, and there at a dinner-party given by the Governor, Count Charles de Broglie, he met the Duke of Gloucester. This prince spoke openly of his disagreement with the American policy of his brother, King George III, and it appears that his words fired young Lafayette with the determination to devote his life to helping the Colonies win their independence.

The eighteenth century had so far been marked by a series of defeats and humiliations of France at the hands of the English, and the French Government, inspired by M. de Vergennes, the Foreign Minister, saw in the difficulties of Great Britain with her colonies in North America an opportunity for restoring French prestige. Therefore, the American agent in Paris, Silas Deane, found a ready welcome when he arrived in France in July 1776 for the purpose of obtaining a steady supply of munitions for the cause he represented. A large number of French officers offered him their services, with several of whom Deane signed contracts, with a promise of a definite rank in the revolutionary army. Lafayette he promised the highest rank of all, that of a Major-General. The fact of a Frenchman of such high position and so great fortune offering himself to the cause with a complete lack of self-interest was taken by the Americans as a highly encouraging compliment. The French Government was less delighted. Vergennes was not yet ready to come out into the open against the English. He was urging Spain to join in an attack, and until something was settled it was essential to veil his

intentions under repeated protestations of friendship for England. Consequently, it did not at all suit him that a Frenchman of such prominence should openly espouse the rebel cause. Lafayette's own family also opposed the scheme, and when he made off to Bordeaux, leaving Paris by night in March 1777, a lettre de cachet was despatched after him to secure his return, if necessary in custody. He escaped in disguise over the Spanish border to Los Passages, and there embarked in 'La Victoire,' the ship that had been chartered for him, along with a number of other French officers. The voyage, together with the long land journey from Charleston, in South Carolina, to the American headquarters at Phila-

delphia, took from April 20 to July 27, 1777.

The crowd of foreigners who arrived expecting high command in Washington's army were so embarrassing to the American leaders, that to get rid of the majority of them Congress agreed to pay for their passages home again. Not so, however, with Lafayette. A highly complimentary letter from Franklin had preceded his arrival, and, on July 31, Congress by a Resolution confirmed his military rank on the grounds that 'out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, he has left his family and connections, and at his own expence come over to offer his services to the United States, and is anxious to risque his life in our cause.' On the next day, Aug. 1, he met Washington at a dinner-party, and by him was promptly invited to make his home at his headquarters. His charm and enthusiasm brought him many friendships, among them that of Alexander Hamilton, then a member of Washington's staff. It was then that in answer to a remark of Washington's he replied, 'I am here to learn, not to teach.' His ardour for active service had not long to wait. At the battle of Brandywine (Sept. 11, 1777) he obtained leave to go into the fight, and succeeded in rallying some of the flying Americans for a short space. He was, however, severely wounded in the leg. General Washington did all that was possible for him. To his wife on Oct. 1, Lafayette wrote: 'Son tendre intérêt pour moi a gagné mon coeur. Je suis établi chez lui, nous vivons comme deux frères bien unis. Quand il m'a envoyé son premier chirurgien, il lui dit de me soigner comme si j'étais son fils, parcequ'il m'aimait de même.'

Lafayette remained in Philadelphia as long as it was considered safe from attack: and when it was known that the British force was advancing on the city, he was removed to Bethlehem, up the Delaware River, where he convalesced for a month with the Moravian Brethren. The wound was severe, though in his letters to his wife he made light of it. Before it was sufficiently well healed to allow him to wear a boot, he made his way, in the third week of October, to General Washington's headquarters, between Bethlehem and Philadelphia. He accompanied General Greene across the Delaware, into New Jersey, and at the battle of Gloucester (Nov. 25) proved his military capacity by a surprise attack on Lord Cornwallis's Hessians. He was given command of a division, and the appointment was confirmed by a Resolution of Congress. The severity of the weather in winter forbade further operations, and Washington's army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge on the Schuvlkill, amidst conditions of extreme privation. Lafayette shared voluntarily the sufferings of the troops. On Jan. 8, 1778, he wrote to his wife:

C'est dans un camp, c'est au milieu des bois, c'est à quinze cents lieues de vous que je me vois enchaîné au milieu de l'hiver. . . . Tout me disait de partir, l'honneur m'a dit de rester, et vraiment quand vous connaîtrez en détail les circonstances où je me trouve, où se trouve l'armée, mon ami qui la commande, toute la cause américaine, vous me pardonnerez, cher cœur. . . ."

Whilst Washington's army was waiting in extreme destitution at Valley Forge for the return of spring, a section of Congress, deeply jealous of Washington's leadership, formed a plot—known as 'Conway's cabal'—to oust him from his position as Commander-in-Chief and substitute for him General Gates. This officer's reputation stood high, owing to his having captured Burgoyne with his force at Saratoga in October 1777. The plotters set much store on inducing Lafayette to desert Washington and come over to their side. To this end the Board of War offered Lafayette a command in a force designed to make an attack on Canada with a view to re-capturing the districts which had once belonged to France. Lafayette's admiration for Gates because of his exploit,

and the attraction of an attack on the British in Canada, induced him to accept the appointment, but with the proviso that he considered himself still under the orders of General Washington. The malcontents were, indeed, temporarily successful in separating Lafayette from his friend, for, on receiving detailed instructions from Gates, he made his way through the wintry weather as far as Albany, arriving there on Feb. 17, 1778. There he found that the expedition was not seriously contemplated at all. At Albany he remained till the middle of March, by which time Washington had succeeded in confounding his enemies, Conway being forced to offer an abject apology and eventually driven back to Europe in disgrace.

Another event had happened which influenced the result of the war. The success at Saratoga had moved the French Government in favour of an alliance with the Americans against England, and on Feb. 8, Franklin and Silas Deane were able to write to Congress: 'The Treaties with France are at length completed and signed.' This event, from the French point of view merely a sideissue in the policy of hostility against England, immeasurably increased Lafayette's importance to the American cause. When the French ships, commanded by a soldier, the Comte d'Estaing, a relative of Lafayette, arrived at the mouth of the Delaware on July 7, 1778, Lafayette became practically liaison officer between the Americans and the French. He had to sweeten their intercourse, a difficult task, for there were misunderstandings and jealousies on both sides. The main operation that they undertook jointly was an attack on the British at Newport, Rhode Island. The troops were to act simultaneously: but General Sullivan made the first move before the French could co-operate, and when they were about to join in, d'Estaing found that Lord Howe's fleet was threatening him. He set off in pursuit, and would probably have defeated their inferior strength, had not a violent storm separated the fleets and completely disabled the French flag-ship. After this disaster, in spite of efforts made by Lafayette to induce d'Estaing to return to Newport at once with a land force, the French commander decided that his only course was to put into Boston to re-fit. Lafayette was sent there to try to induce him to help in the attack on Newport. D'Estaing

promised to command the French force in person; but this came to nothing, seeing that it was decided by the Americans to give up the plan against Newport for the time being, and to retire to the farther end of the island. The French fleet did little more after this for the cause; it sailed in due course to the island of Martinique in the West Indies. Lafayette had ridden the seventy miles to Boston in seven hours. He stayed there two days and did the return journey in six hours and a half. His haste was due to his desire to be back in time for an intended attack on the British. An action took place in his absence, but there were so many desertions on the American side that he only arrived in time to help in superintending a general retirement. His disappointment was acute, but it was lessened by a Resolution of Congress thanking him

for his services up to date.

September 1778 found Lafavette in command of the troops at Bristol, on the Delaware River. Hostilities had practically ceased for the year, and he thought of returning to France. He also played with an idea of an attack on the British in Canada by a French force alone. His peaceful occupations of that month were diversified by an impulse to challenge Lord Carlisle, the head of a British Commission which had come out in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. Carlisle, in addressing Congress. had used very bitter words on the subject of France. Lafavette at once took personal offence, but both Washington and d'Estaing threw cold water on his ardour. The challenge was sent, but Carlisle turned it off in a letter ending: 'I believe that all these national disputes will best be decided when Admiral Byron and the Comte d'Estaing meet each other.' Twenty years later Lafayette wrote: 'Lord Carlisle refusa, et il eut raison.' Near the end of 1778 he obtained leave of absence, and would have started before the New Year, had he not been laid low by a violent fever. On Jan. 11, however, he set sail for France in the ship 'Alliance.' In his report to M. de Vergennes, Gérard, French Minister to the United States, wrote: 'La conduite, également prudente, courageuse et aimable, de M. le marquis de Lafayette l'a rendu l'idole du Congrès, de l'armée et du peuple des États Unis. On a une haute opinion de ses talens militaires. . . .' Later (August) in the same year a sword of honour was sent over

to him, accompanied by Franklin's words: 'I find it easy to express everything but the Sense we have of your

Worth and our Obligation to you.'

Lafavette's return to France was very different from his departure less than two years before. The youth who had fled in disguise from the French officers of the law was now the chief authority on American affairs. He was consulted by Maurepas and Vergennes. His biographer, Charlemagne Tower, says of him: 'It is not too much to say that throughout the year 1779 the enthusiasm of Lafayette and his ceaseless endeavours on our behalf before the Cabinet and the King kept the cause of the American Revolution alive in France.' He had much to contend with. The French Government were contemplating a raid on the Irish coast, and unwilling to detach a force to send to help the Americans. Then, if a force were sent, it was doubtful how the Americans would receive it, after the bad impression created by the failure of d'Estaing's expedition. Eventually, however, when the idea of an attack on England was given up, Vergennes looked with more favour on Lafayette's scheme of sending troops to America. In the end Lafavette sailed for America, on March 14, 1780, leaving the French force of 6000 men almost ready to follow under the Comte de The French also lent the Americans Rochambeau. 6 million livres.

During his absence the American resources had reached a very low ebb. Their paper currency had greatly depreciated, and Lafayette was appalled at the condition of the army. On May 31, he wrote to Joseph Reed, the President of the State Executive Council:

'An army that is reduced to nothing, that wants provisions, that has not one of the necessary means to make war, such is the situation wherein I find our troops. . . Shall I be obliged to confess our inability, and what shall be my feelings on the occasion, not only as an American and an American soldier, but also as one who has highly boasted in Europe of the spirit, the virtue, the resources of America. Though I had been directed to furnish the French Court and the French Generals with early and minuted intelligence, I confess, pride has stopped my pen. . . .

His main anxiety, whilst waiting for the arrival of French reinforcements, was to get the American army into a state fit to co-operate with them. The French under Rochambeau reached Newport on July 10, and Lafayette immediately communicated to him that Washington's objective was New York itself, since, in his opinion, the war would be won when New York was captured from the English. Further difficulties arose, however, for a fleet of ten British ships proceeded to blockade the French fleet, and Rochambeau could not detach his land force from the ships at such a juncture. Lafayette wrote on July 26 that Rochambeau seemed to expect that American troops should be sent to his assistance, 'but at length he told me he did not want it. But this must be between us. The Count says he will stand a storm.'

Washington meanwhile had moved in force against the British on the Hudson River and caused General Clinton to retire to the town of New York. This move made Rhode Island of secondary interest in the campaign, and Lafayette wrote a long letter to Rochambeau, on Aug. 9, with the object of inducing him to break away from Rhode Island and take part in Washington's operation. The implied reproach roused Rochambeau in in his own defence:

'Sur ce que vous me mandez, mon cher marquis, que la position des Français à Rhode Island n'est d'aucune utilité aux Américans, je vous observerai : . . . qu'il serait pourtant bien de réfléchir que la position du corps français peut bien être pour quelque chose dans l'évacuation que Clinton a faite du continent où il était pour se confiner à Long Island et à New York; qu'enfin, pendant que la flotte française est observée ici par une marine supérieure et rassemblée, vos côtes de l'Amérique sont tranquilles, vos corsaires font des prises très avantageuses et votre commerce maritime a toute liberté. . . . Je ne peux que me flatter que la seconde division est en route. . . . '

This promised 'second division,' which was to bring out most of the supplies and munitions promised by the French Government, was in fact lying blockaded at Brest by a large fleet of British ships. The passage from Rochambeau's letter quoted above, and also the ease with which frequent correspondence between France and America passed over the ocean, seem, however, to indicate

that the British did not 'command the seas' in the modern sense. They could blockade ports, but rarely intercepted

ships at sea.

In September occurred the incident of the treachery and escape of General Arnold, and the capture, trial, and execution of Major André. Lafayette sat on the court-martial which condemned André. While he had no words too bad for Arnold, he felt a certain sympathy for the British officer, André. 'C'etait un homme intéressant, le confident et l'ami du général Clinton; il s'est conduit d'une manière si franche, si noble, si délicate, que je n'ai pu m'empêcher de le regretter infiniment.' The execution of André was a grave error, if not a crime, for André was captured several miles outside the American outposts, and so not 'taken within our lines,' as the indictment expressed it.

At the end of October Lafayette urged Washington to launch an attack on the British on York Island, and prepared a plan for the operation; but Washington pointed out that an attack of ten thousand Americans against nine thousand English contained too much risk so late in the year; so nothing was left but to go into winter quarters and hope that 1781 would produce better results.

Early in 1781 Colonel Laurens was sent on a mission to France to explain to the French Government the urgent need of effective support in the shape of money. clothing, arms and naval superiority. Vergennes was inclined to think that the Americans were demanding too much from France, seeing that the last campaign had cost France 150 millions of livres. Vergennes did, however, promise another 4 millions. Lafavette urged his wife to do her best to make Laurens' stay pleasant: 'Traitez-le comme un ami de la maison.' He arrived in Paris on March 18, and succeeded in obtaining a further loan of 10 millions. The scene of operations was now in Virginia, where the British had been uniformly successful. Lafayette was sent there with an independent command, which he exercised with great activity until the first days of September. By that time Lord Cornwallis had fortified himself at Yorktown on the coast of Virginia. Washington came to command the assault on the town in combination with the French troops on land and their fleet on the sea. He had written to Lafayette: 'Should the

retreat of Lord Cornwallis be cut off, by the arrival of either of the French fleets, I am persuaded you will do all in your power to prevent his escape by land.' The surrender of Cornwallis took place on Oct. 19. Lafayette wrote to Maurepas: 'La pièce est jouée, Monsieur le comte, et le cinquième acte vient de finir.'

At the end of November Lafayette left America for France. He re-visited the States on two subsequent occasions: in 1784, for the purpose of seeing his old friends, and again in 1824. This visit was of the nature of a triumphal progress. He stayed for more than a year, having come, as an article in the 'Pamphleteer' of 1826 expressed it, as 'literally the "Guest of the Nation"; but the guest, it should be remembered, of another generation than the one he originally came to serve. Lafayette found his country awakening to the consciousness of the Rights of Man. He became active in the cause of freedom, but a freedom combined with order, and loyalty to the king. He raised his voice against the slave trade, and actually purchased numbers of slaves in one of the colonies with a view to their emancipation.

He put forward proposals which made him disliked by the Government, such as the removal of the disabilities of Protestants and suppression of lettres de cachet. Throughout the years before the Revolution he corresponded on all subjects with General Washington. In January 1788 he wrote:

'Je suis revenu de l'assemblée provinciale d'Auvergne, où j'ai le bonheur de plaire au peuple, et le malheur de déplaire au gouvernement à un très haut point. Le ministère demandait une augmentation de revenue; notre province est du petit nombre qui n'ont rien donné. . . . La fermentation est grande. . . . Pour moi je souhaite avec ardeur obtenir un bill des droits et une constitution, et je voudrais que la chose pourrait s'accomplir, autant que possible, d'une manière calme et satisfaisante pour tous.'

When the Revolution broke out in 1789, Lafayette was a prominent member of the National Assembly. His objective was to evolve a constitutional monarchy, with responsibility of Ministers. He was, therefore, politically in a delicate middle position. He was placed in command of the National Guards of Paris, and in this

capacity was able to save the lives of the Royal Family, when the mob invaded the Palace of Versailles. He went with the Queen on to a balcony and kissed her hand in sight of the crowd, a bold conception which evoked cheers for the Queen and for him. After this demonstration the Royal Family's journey to Paris, surrounded by the howling mob, was performed in

physical safety.

The growing influence of the Jacobins was making itself felt in the National Assembly, and on June 20, 1790, it was proposed to abolish all titles of nobility. Lafavette. true to his principles, rose to second it. He never consented, even at the Bourbon restoration, to resume his On July 14, he was in charge, as Commandant of the National Guards, of the arrangements for the ceremony of swearing to the Constitution on the Champ de Mars. But his dislike of the Jacobin idea led him to write a long letter to the National Assembly on June 16, 1792, from the fortified camp at Maubeuge, close to the Belgian-Dutch frontier-war having been declared against Austria in April. He said: 'Que le pouvoir royal soit intact car il est garanti par la constitution. . . . Enfin que le règne des clubs, anéanti par vous, fasse place à la règne de la loi : leurs usurpations, à l'exercise ferme et indépendent des autorités constituées.' The Jacobins were too strong for him, and he was forced to flee across the frontier.

He was taken by the enemy and handed first to the Prussians, and then to the Austrians, who confined him in a dungeon at Olmütz. It was two years before his friends knew what had become of him. He thus missed the worst period of the Revolution. In 1794 an escape was organised but by a series of misfortunes he was recaptured. Madame de Lafayette, who had been imprisoned by the Jacobins, joined him in his prison. was not until August 1797 that he was finally released. He lived in Holstein for a year, and when it was safe to return to France, he settled down in the castle of La Grange, about forty miles from Paris. General Bonaparte at once approached him with an offer to make him a Senator, but his distaste for the development of events in France caused him to repulse Bonaparte's advances, and he even voted against his being appointed First Consul

for life. The result of this was Lafayette's retirement from the public service for as long as Bonaparte's power lasted. The return of the Bourbons in 1814 made no difference to his determination. When Napoleon returned from Elba, however, Lafayette consented to be a member of the new House of Representatives, hoping 'to make the Chamber, of which he was a member, a representation of the people, and not a Napoleonic club.' A peerage which was offered to him he declined.

After Waterloo, when Napoleon had fled to Paris, Lafayette ascended the tribune for the first time for twenty years, and appealed for a return to the original principles of the constitutional Revolution. The House supported him, and then nothing remained for Napoleon but to throw up the sponge and abdicate. After this Lafayette retired into private life. He sat in two Parliaments of the Chamber of Deputies, but beyond voting against such measures as the curtailment of the freedom of the press, he was content to wait for a natural progress in political wisdom to produce itself as time went on. In the troubles of 1830 he again commanded the National Guard. His last speech was delivered in 1834 on behalf of political refugees from Poland after the suppression of the revolution in that country against the Russians.

Lafayette has been criticised, in that he pursued an ideal impossible of realisation in the period in which he lived—that of a genuinely democratic monarchy governing a free people. This consideration makes the great reputation he enjoyed throughout his long life all the more a triumph of personality; for his courage, integrity, and consistent adherence to principle caused his influence to be courted and feared by each régime, as it arose. Washington, the first to recognise his quality, carried on an intimate correspondence with him to the end of his life. The moderate revolutionaries, the French Royal Family, Napoleon, the returned Bourbons, all sought to enlist his support for the strengthening of their positions; but he would only countenance their aspirations in so far as they tallied with his own rigid principles. Where he gave his sympathies he gave without stint, and his adhesion was always of incalculable value to any cause that he supported.

Art. 10.-NEWFOUNDLAND.

Newfoundland Royal Commission, 1933. Report presented by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. November 1933. H.M. Stationery Office, 1933.

Economic Conditions in Newfoundland to April 1933.
 Report by H. F. Gurney, His Majesty's Trade Commissioner in Newfoundland. H.M. Stationery Office,

1933.

3. The Wooden Walls among the Ice Floes. The romance of the Seal Fishery of Newfoundland. By Major W. Howe Greene, O.B.E. Hutchinson & Co., 1933.

4. Forty Years of Labrador. By Sir Wilfred Grenfell,

K.C.M.G., M.D. Hodder and Stoughton, 1933.

 Among the Deep Sea Fishers. The Official Organ of the International Grenfell Association. October 1933.
 New York: Grenfell Association of America.

 Grenfell Association of Great Britain and Ireland. Seventh Annual Report for the Year ending Sept. 30,

1933.

'There are more pleasant people to the acre in St John's than anywhere I have yet been,' writes a young but much-travelled English Professor from Newfoundland, at about the time when the report of the Royal Commission was presented. An inborn impulse of hospitality is recognised in the local quip—'looking after every one that blows in at the Narrows.' The same ready friendliness is found among the settlers all along the coast: it is the theme of every casual visitor. But this is not the only trait which marks 'these overgrown boys,' as Major Howe Greene calls them in describing the daring displayed amid the ice floes. These men, 'easy going and law abiding,' 'intensely patriotic,' the recent Royal Commissioners regard as 'potentially fine material of which any country in the world would be proud.'

In the outports of Newfoundland, not only around the Avalon peninsula, but right through the island, we find ingrained in the people affection for the Mother Country, and intense loyalty to the Throne—the inheritance from forbears in Devon and Dorset, with a strong touch of Irish enthusiasm. It was this which enabled

the Newfoundland Regiment to achieve a battle discipline on a level with the best county units from the United Kingdom. And these Newfoundlanders are deeply attached to their own island. Peculiar to them apparently is the story of St Peter showing visitors round Heaven. 'What is meant by a number of souls behind bars? We thought there could be no barriers in Heaven!' 'Ah. those,' said St Peter, 'are the Newfoundlanders: it's the only way to keep them in Heaven; they'd be back to that little island if they got the chance.' Such is the character of the people for whose fortunes, following a detailed report by a Royal Commission, the Government of the United Kingdom has decided to make itself responsible, if only it may rescue our oldest Colony from the embarrassments and dangers accumulated by bad administration during a period of some ten years. These people are not unworthy of exceptional help in a great crisis.

The justification for action as recommended by the Amulree Commission is greater than the report indicates. Full and careful as it is, the report hardly touches upon the actual cause which led to the rapid collapse of the Colony. Apparently impressed by the revelation of abuses new to men brought up in a clearer political atmosphere, the Commissioners lay chief stress on a secondary, though eminently serious, reason for failure. The immediate cause of Newfoundland's breakdown is that which has produced the present conditions of anxiety and uncertainty throughout the British Empire, and indeed the whole world—that unreasoning optimism which followed the peace of 1919, leading private individuals and public officials alike into extravagant expenditure and ill-judged speculations. The merchants and traders of Newfoundland had made large profits during the War period; the settlers generally had been doing well. There was little inclination to accept stringent economy as the first necessity of a disorganised world. It happens that in Newfoundland that view was pressed in no uncertain tones: for the Governor at the close of the War was one of the small band who were then insisting on the economic difficulties facing the Empire.

To some extent this warning was effective when first depression struck the Colony. Up to the winter of 1922, at any rate, unemployment, though it had caused anxiety, had been handled on practical lines; there is always waste in the attempt to provide special work at short notice; even clearing the roads from heavy snowfalls is unsatisfactory in a country where the deep drift is an ordinary winter condition; but demoralisation was, on the whole, avoided. The visit of H.M.S. 'Cambrian' in the spring of 1922 had been a concession to the nervousness of Ministers but may actually have saved troubles. If, at this period, the late Sir Robert Bond had seen his way to come back into the political arena, it is quite likely that in spite of hard times Newfoundland would have survived the trials of the next few years and escaped the breakdown. But though he cordially agreed with the Governor's pronouncements as to the need of economy, he held that the time for his personal intervention had gone by.

When first the proposals for a new and large concession on the west of the island were seriously mooted, the sounder opinion in business circles deprecated the whole scheme. The Governor persuaded his Ministers not to attempt to rush it through without a definite mandate. But this delay of a year or so had no effect in sobering the demand for an enterprise which, for a small community, and in the circumstances of the times, was a gigantic undertaking. The erection of a great paper-mill with its allied works at Cornerbrook added a serious liability to the growing financial obligations of the Colony. drove the United Kingdom into a guarantee which could ill be afforded, and shook the Armstrong-Whitworth Company to its foundations. It is not too much to say that this much-trumpeted attempt was the real beginning of the crisis in which the Colony has been involved. The Newfoundland Power and Paper Company of 1923 went off with a great flourish: the initial works naturally produced a temporary burst of prosperity: they seemed to promise a new career to many. But reaction set in as soon as the growing difficulties of the outside world began to affect Newfoundland. And meanwhile the new mirage had drawn away attention from the improvement of the fisheries. When practically the whole world was in trouble, it was the less possible for a mere quarter of a million of people dependent chiefly on one specialised industry to preserve their equilibrium.

Doubtless the lack of a wise and capable administra-

tion, strong enough to face the panic of demoralised electors, made it more difficult to stem the tide of depression. Neither Monroe as Prime Minister, nor the members of the 'Young Newfoundland' party, though honestly desirous of reform and economy, had sufficient strength and knowledge to defeat the intrigues of self-interest. It needed a very clear and firm conception of public duty to cope with the concurrent difficulties of railway finance. breakdown of the new development schemes, and severe depression in the cod-fishery. From 1926 onwards the local Government was slipping faster and faster down the dangerous path of public assistance to distressed electors. The old abuse of uncontrolled relief to the able-bodied poor which Sir F. Carter's Government had suppressed in 1868 once more had gripped the settlers, till in 1932 'no less than 70,000 persons, or 25 per cent. of the population, were in receipt of public relief other than poor relief or relief for the aged poor.' Nevertheless, it is only fair to urge that collapse has been due not so much to an established defect of political morality as to delay in finding and supporting a Prime Minister who could condemn grandiose schemes and reckless borrowing. This statement is the reply to the contention raised in debate on the Newfoundland resolutions in the House of Commons-namely, that the United Kingdom cannot succour all the distressed in the Empire, and that where distress is the consequence of corruption it is positively mischievous to lend a helping hand.

The Royal Commissioners found a situation aggravated by two distinct factors—political maladministration which must be swept away, economic exhaustion which must be stimulated into sound life. The settlers in certain districts are represented as 'living in conditions of such extreme misery and want that there can be little hope of restoring them to useful activity unless they are first assured of essential food and clothing': they are in need of 'a new morale and a new spirit of self-reliance,' leading to a sense of 'the obligation to provide for themselves and to assist one another in raising the general level of the community.' Doubtless the phrase 'certain districts' is the saving clause in this pessimistic description. There have always been places in Newfoundland where conditions have been very hard and the living very scanty:

but the people have usually shown marked pluck and endurance. It is hardly possible that three bad years can have altered the character of the Newfoundlander so completely, at any rate on the north-west. Nor is it easy to apply the description to the outports generally. Rather is it to be expected that to any encouragement and sympathy the people will respond with that readiness which they showed in older days. The hope of sustaining all that is sound in the character of the people and restoring that part which is damaged or frayed by these few years of trouble is the justification of the Commissioners' recommendations, which may be summarised as follows: (a) The suspension of the existing constitu-(b) Its replacement by a Government which can reform all the details of administration and regulate the conditions of industry. (c) The inauguration of a new constructive policy of development. And as a condition inseparable from any effort at reform they consider that the United Kingdom should shoulder the Newfoundland public debt.

By a process of elimination set out in detail in their report, and explained personally by Lord Amulree in the House of Lords, the Commissioners conclude that the only way to make a new start is to suspend the system of responsible government which has been in force in Newfoundland since 1855. The suspension of a selfgoverning constitution is not a novelty in the history of the British Empire, and has, as a matter of fact, precedent in the history of Newfoundland itself. Several of those which are to-day Crown Colonies, particularly in the West Indies, began their political life with some form of self-government. Broadly speaking the Crown Colonies were originally those acquired by cession: where a Colony was settled by the British it usually had at first a constitution based upon that of England. These constitutions endured until well after the middle of the last century. By that time the Colonial Office had been organised as a great department under a separate Secretary of State; the responsibility for a large Empire began to be appreciated; the contrast between the administration of the Crown Colonies proper and those whose constitutions let in the self-interest of the local elector impressed the responsible officials at home; from

time to time appeals for aid to the mother country suggested the claim of the latter to a more effective voice in local affairs. It became a policy to encourage the surrender of the fuller legislative powers. Sometimes, as in the case of the Jamaica rebellion of 1865, there was a national outcry. Usually as with Grenada, St Vincent, Antigua, St Kitts, the change came as a result of administrative difficulties.

Newfoundland up to 1825 had not even a regular civil Governor or a Supreme Court. Somewhat later, in 1832, Parliament passed an Act to grant a representative Assembly to the Colony, the other effective part of the Constitution being a Council of six members which had legislative powers concurrent with those of the Assembly. The quarrels of these two bodies resulted in the suspension of the constitution after a stormy existence of some eight years. For nearly two years (1841-3) there was no Then the Crown took power to establish a legislative body composed partly of nominated, partly of elected members, approximating to a type not uncommon in later days. Under a conciliatory and able Speaker (James Crowdy) this body worked quite well for the six years of its existence. In 1846 agitation began which led first to the restoration of the previous constitution in 1848, and then to the grant of responsible government seven years later, with the House of Assembly on a wider basis. So Newfoundland received in 1855 what had recently been accorded to the Cape and the Australian Colonies. Thenceforward, though the Colony had from time to time serious troubles and made administrative blunders, appeals to the Government of the United Kingdom were discouraged, and difficulties were surmounted in due course.

It was not unnatural, however, that Newfoundland, during the past three-quarters of a century, should have kept a close touch with the old country. The Home Government avoided interference in local matters and this gave local confidence; external relations were complicated by disputed questions with France and the United States in regard to which the ultimate responsibility was on the United Kingdom. Doubtless there was also a consciousness of the small size of their population and the value of a strong support. Thus the

essential conception of Newfoundland's relation to the Empire was that of a Colony—England's oldest Colony: and of this they were very proud. This is hardly the place to review the story of the very unsatisfactory specialisation of the term 'Dominion.' As adopted by Canada the term has its romance:

'His dominion shall be from the one sea to the other And from the flood unto the world's end,'

quoted Sir John Tilley in a moment of inspiration; and suggested a name for the new federation. The transfer of the special title to a general category was begun by New Zealand; and it is to be regretted that when the Legislature of New Zealand found the necessity of a formal act they did not adopt some more special designation, as Australia and South Africa did later. So Downing Street slid into a defective terminology which was more or less stereotyped by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. When Newfoundland Ministers in 1918 first arrogated the title 'Dominion' it was not very popular, and so staunch a patriot as the late Sir Patrick McGrath always maintained that 'oldest Colony' was a far more distinctive designation. The new title was not authorised till the Act of 1931, which, as Lord Strathcona mentioned in the House of Lords, has not actually been adopted by Newfoundland. Looked at from a practical point of view the term was largely to blame for unwise expenditure by the Colony, suggesting a different scale of public expenditure and a new facility for borrowing.

It is not so long since one of the wisest and most successful of Newfoundlanders wrote: 'The Colony was never fit for responsible Government, but the disaster was not within sight until it was discovered that millions and tens of millions could be borrowed... for which very little is seen except a demoralised people clamouring for the dole.' Yet it would have been contrary to all the principles of British government to place Newfoundland for that reason under the permanent tutelage of the United Kingdom. That would hardly be fair to the Empire or to the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. Obviously the Royal Commissioners had this view present in their minds, for they do not suggest even a temporary installation of Crown Colony government; they take

special pains to recommend an entirely novel arrangement for which there is apparently no sort of precedent—namely, government by a Special Commission under the Governor with legislative as well as executive powers—a Commission of six members, half drawn from Newfoundland, half from the United Kingdom; the 'Governor-in-Commission' to be subject to general supervision by the Government of the United Kingdom exercised through the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. Power is reserved to the Governor in executive matters to act on his own initiative in case of emergency. These recommendations as to the new form of government have been accepted without modification by the Home Government.

The new arrangement is at first sight clumsy as compared with ordinary colonial administration, and opens the door too wide to bureaucracy; its working will be watched with unusual interest. 'It would be understood,' say the Commissioners, 'that as soon as the Island's difficulties are overcome, and the country is again self-supporting, responsible government, on request from the people of Newfoundland, would be restored.' Meanwhile it is essential that the Colonists should loyally accept the new régime and refrain from any obstruction or passive resistance. It is clear from the Commissioner's report that there is a long period of probation before them.

The condition precedent to the change was the acceptance by the United Kingdom of the responsibility for the debt of the Colony. That debt in 1921 was \$43,000,000, and of this roughly \$13,000,000 was incurred for the War. In the twelve years which have followed some \$58,000,000 have been added, and that has done the mischief.

The Memorandum laid before Parliament in November announced that 'His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would think it little less than a disaster if the oldest Colony in the British Empire were to default on its obligations.' This view was obviously not hastily adopted. The report of the Commission had indicated a definite plan of partial default as a possibility, but pointed out that no part of the British Empire had ever yet defaulted on its loan obligations; and that such

action could only result in shattering the credit of the country. Consequently a very substantial obligation on account of the public debt of Newfoundland has been accepted by the United Kingdom, to the great relief of the holders of the securities. The arrangements for financial relief were the subject of suggestive criticism in the House of Commons out of which one important point emerged. Would it not be fairer that all moneys now voted to Newfoundland should be given as a loan? That is certainly the ideal arrangement and more in keeping with the status which we are endeavouring to preserve for the Colony. Nor would there be any less ground for the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'that when our oldest Colony in her darkest hour came to the Mother Country for help she had no

reason to regret the step.'

The suggestions of the Royal Commissioners for the reform of local administration will be safe in the hands of the Home Government, and the material with which they have to work is not nearly as meagre as might be thought from the report. Though the Civil Service, chiefly through an idea of economy, has never been properly organised, it has among its Deputy Ministers and others capable and loval officials who form a sound nucleus for a good service. The detailed recommendations as to administration, education, public health, and so forth, will find hearty co-operators. And for years Governors have been suggesting improvements: the idea is familiar. One section of the report may be dismissed briefly. The importance of the Colony as a centre for Aviation depends more on external than on domestic developments. Ever since the brilliant June afternoon when Grieve and Hawker sailed out over Signal Hill on the first attempt to fly the Atlantic (which by bad luck fell somewhat short of success). Newfoundland has been recognised as of first importance in Transatlantic Air services.

The future conservation and development of Newfoundland's resources will offer the more pressing problems for Downing Street. The substance of well-established industries has been sacrificed to the shadow of visionary development. The fishing industry which, in the past, was the whole life of the island, and may still

be its mainstay, falls under the condemnation of the Commissioners in almost every particular of its management. Yet before touching the cod-fishery it is impossible not to refer to the spring seal hunt, which has for generations been the ideal adventure of the Newfoundland fisherman. Major Howe Greene's book gives a vivid picture of what the seal hunt was in the 'eighties or 'nineties: but even he never saw the earlier days of the schooner fleet, when the streets of St John's and Harbour Grace were crowded with seamen, bunting was flying from a hundred masts, and the whole town turned out to see the boats getting under way, often through lanes cut out of the harbour ice; later the wild excitement when the first gun from Signal Hill announced that the leaders of the returning fleet were in sight and a race for the Narrows had begun as strenuous as the contest between 'Bird of Dawning' and 'Fu-kien' for the pilot off Dungeness; then the speculation as to the firm that would be first in-Brooking's or Grieve's or Bowring's or Job's or who? There is as much sport as industry in the seal-hunt; it is in the blood of the Newfoundlander. and will hardly be dropped entirely. The seal-fishery has been deprecated on the ground that it is cruel and wasteful: it is not more cruel than any other chase where life is taken, but it is certainly wasteful at times when large numbers of white-coats, killed and waiting for shipment, are lost in sudden storms.

The future of the 'fishery,' which is the cod-fishery, is a really serious matter. The Amulree Commission may be congratulated on a remarkably complete and careful review of this industry. They deal with defects long discussed and often the subject of half-hearted reform-poor curing, careless sorting, distrust and jealousy among the merchants who handle the catch, lack of organisation and scientific research, and a failure to meet in a straightforward manner the requirements of customers in Europe—resulting in a 'catalogue of misfortunes, most of which could have been prevented by the exercise of forethought and common sense, to say nothing of business acumen.' The reforms in the cod-fishery which have already been instituted, and others now recommended, should help Newfoundland to regain part of the success which their fishery enjoyed during the War period, but

only if their exporters can throw aside for ever the effort at sharp trading which rapidly degenerates into dishonesty. They should have learned before now that in sharp practices their foreign customers, whether Italian, Portuguese, or Greeks, were in every way their match and that the one condition of successful dealing was to send the best fish possible, to declare any deviation from standard, and to stand by a bargain when made without making unfair or dubious claims. This statement would seem severe to any one inspecting for the first time the well-kept warehouses of leading St John's exporters and hearing the views propounded as to proper shipment. Yet it is notorious that disputes in foreign ports have too often been discreditable to the Newfoundlander and

have spoiled the market for his compatriots.

The attempt to find minerals usually comes comparatively early in a country's story, and copper was the first metal to be exported in quantity from Newfoundland; but the proportion of ore and its price are factors which decide success; for many years the last winnings from the Tilt Cove mine have been waiting loaded on the trollies ready for shipment directly it will pay. And meanwhile the Bell Island iron mines and the new mine at Buchans on Red Indian Lake have become paying propositions looking for development when world conditions improve. Indeed, the Bell Island mines will probably be one of the great mines of the world for the class of iron which they produce. How far the Colony, apart from the Bell Island area, will become a great mineral centre it is impossible to say. There are traces of mineral products all over the island-lead in Placentia. coal in St George's and the west, oil on the north-west coast at Parson's Pond and elsewhere. But there is practically no local demand, and in an area of small population and great distances the competition of more favourably situated deposits will for years be against development even of the coal and oil.

The exports of paper and pulp in 1928–9 and 1929–30 roughly equalled the produce of the fisheries in money value; with a failure in the cod-fishery they rose in 1931–2 to a value two and a half times as great as what is still accounted the leading industry of the island. The exports from the mill at Grand Falls are for the greater

part to a market assured by the company which built and owns the mill. The undertaking of the Northcliffe interests represented by the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company has from first to last been admirably managed, has produced one of the best settlements in the Colony, and has an output which is unlikely to fall off in the future. The new mill of the International Power and Paper Company of Newfoundland is affiliated to three Canadian mills and is not free from criticism as to its management in relation to those other mills; but it is admitted that it is a modern mill producing at low cost, and its future may now apparently be regarded with confidence. An incidental anxiety which the Commissioners find arising from the success of these mills is the difficulty of securing outlets for the young people who grow up in the good conditions of Grand Falls and Corner

Brook and yet cannot find work in the mill.

Agriculture cannot be said to have reached the stage of an industry in Newfoundland. Newfoundland has a very difficult climate. The Amulree Commission, like the Trade Commissioners, minimise the difficulties of the winter, although they talk about 'an almost total absence of spring,' which is not correct. The climate is possibly less severe in the winter than it was sixty years ago-but in January and February the temperature is often below zero even near the coast, and it was frequently reported as from 20° to 40° below in the interior. It is also liable to late frosts of some severity up to the middle of June. It has, in fact, a variability not unlike that of Northern England, but with sharper extremes. Yet in old days success was attained with the fruits and vegetables of the old country; and in parts of the island, or in favoured situations, much more could be done than at present. The late Sir Robert Bond, who had confidence in improving cultivation and raising stock, set an excellent example of enterprise which was but faintly followed. Sir Wilfred Grenfell has done much in the way of minor cultivation even on the Labrador. In the valleys of the western rivers hay crops and grazing succeed. Farms for fur-bearing animals have been profitable in many cases, and probably with care there is an opening for enterprise in regard to several such animals. Apart, however, from farming as an industry there is a special

opening for the small holding which may be a useful adjunct of the shore fishery; in Placentia and elsewhere sheep run in small flocks, giving change of food; the wool is the basis of home weaving and knitting. The Commissioners, struck by the loss of sheep and goats due to the number of dogs kept for winter haulage, recommend the appointment of an expert adviser to help the settlers as to their livestock. Whether that is necessary or not, the development of the small farm should be a valuable factor in the rehabilitation of the outport population.

Turning to the wider questions which arise out of the Report we may take first a proposal to form a company for the development of the Colony and its resources, including the railway, out of a fund produced by a monopoly for the importation and sale of all the principal commodities required in the life of the island -an amusing illustration of the impudence of some modern speculation. It is useful to have on record the damning sentence of the Royal Commissioners: 'All the risks involved would be borne by the Government and people of Newfoundland.' Next come schemes like that for a free port at Mortier Bay, an inlet on the west side of Placentia Bay, which being usually free from ice could be used as an entrepôt for merchandise, to be accumulated and stored in the summer and moved by water during winter. Newfoundland is the country of wonderful schemes and new routes. There was that delightful Mr Thompson with his 'fog free' zone and special routes between the new and old world, and there have been other variations. There appears to be an irresistible temptation in projecting high-sounding schemes which may relieve the Colony from the drudgery of steady development of its natural industry. Not that the Mortier Bay scheme, or some variation of it, may not one day deserve careful examination. But it belongs to a future when the need for a new route is great, and when there is an accumulation of capital which may fairly be risked. It is not for to-day.

The question of the Labrador, on the other hand, is a practical one, and raises considerable problems; preliminary to which is the question how far its value is rightly assumed as accruing to Newfoundland. The presumption is natural as it has been so long under the

same Commission as Newfoundland. But the old rule points to the United Kingdom as the beneficiary in the case of territory added by British enterprise and left without any effective administration up to recent times. The Labrador was finally annexed to Newfoundland in 1809: no special provision was made for its administration, and apart from the regulation of the fishery carried on by Newfoundland (the only matter which interested the Colony) no attempt was made to administer it, indeed there was often talk of removing the 'liviers' or settlers. From the eighteenth century the Moravians in the north had looked after the Esquimaux. In later years the International Grenfell Association enabled Sir Wilfred to extend his work in Newfoundland up the southern coastline of Labrador. The Hudson Bay Company have for many years had posts at Rigolet and North-West River. No definite effort by the Colonial authorities relieved the Home Government from their responsibility. The visits of the Governor, two of whom in recent years went into the Interior, were made in discharge of duty to the Crown. The position was not changed by the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1927. They were required merely to define the boundary of the 'coast' of Labrador as contemplated by the instrument annexing it to Newfoundland. It may fairly be argued that Newfoundland never had ownership. The Labrador was a territory which would naturally be developed for its own benefit and that of the Empire; and the Governor of Newfoundland should have been High Commissioner of the Labrador, just as the Governor of the Union of South Africa is High Commissioner for certain native territories. Now that the Home Government will become directly responsible for the Colony, such an arrangement is almost imperative. Yet, after so much talk about the Labrador 'belonging to' the Colony, it might be almost a breach of faith not to develop it eventually for the benefit of Newfoundland. But the big ice-bound territory is not an easy proposition. It might be ruined by injudicious prospecting and clearing. A wise and strong control is essential even if the aid of a Chartered Company is invoked. This the High Commissioner could secure.

Whether Newfoundland will ever join the Dominion of Canada is, as the Amulree report indicates, a question deferred indefinitely. If only a sufficient supply of well-trained and independent statesmen could be assured the smaller unit would probably be more prosperous and happier by itself. Moreover, looking to the far future, broad reasons of policy might require a special tie between the United Kingdom and a self-governing Newfoundland.

Once more it is for the sake of a fine race of settlers that the United Kingdom is asked to make a sacrifice. It is inconceivable that Newfoundlanders as a whole should have had their natures completely changed by a few years of depression, that the men we knew, the men of the Royal Naval Reserve (and may they once more have their depot in the old Briton!)—the men who made the Newfoundland Regiment—should have lost their pluck, cheeriness, and self-respect. It is well to give the helping hand to those who would gladly give it to others.

C. ALEXANDER HARRIS.

Art. 11 .- A CENTURY-OLD VIEW OF LONDON.

'To see ourselves as others see us,' has always been in the nature of a hostage given by good-sense to vanity. It is one of those wholesome correctives which, not infrequently, when the mind is made up to swallow them, are found not to be so nauseous as was expected; for from the complacent state which enables us to suppose that all the world takes us at our own valuation to that in which we are ready to believe that others think worse of us than they do, is but a step. Of course, nations are generally bad judges of each other-different interests; alien manners and customs: the thousand and one trifling differences that go to make up the race distinction which dominates the peoples of the globe, are, I suppose, all responsible for a prejudiced view of humanity in other states of existence than one's own; and it is only when detached travellers who, setting prejudice aside, seek to find the truth beneath different manners and customs, assimilate themselves with the everyday life of a different country from their own, that something like a sane judgment can be gained, and if recorded justly can help the country so examined to realise its own qualities.

England, as we have some reason to know by now, has nearly always rather suffered from this process, and for two reasons: the variableness of its climate: and a certain brusque aloofness; a stately condescension in the manners of its people. Regarded in the fleeting way in which most travellers have been alone able to gather their impressions, both these characteristics have caused us to be misjudged—as a matter of fact neither our manners nor our climate are so bad as they have been painted; and those who have really studied us carefully and long, have come to this conclusion. One of these was a certain German, Herr C. A. G. Goede, who in the years 1802 and 1803 was living in our midst. During this period he was engaged in taking notes, and on his return to his native land he printed them in the form of no fewer than five volumes. From this work a selection of the most interesting portions was translated by Thomas Horne,*

^{*} Him I take to have been Thoma Hartwell Horne, the Biblical scholar, whose 'Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures' was published in 1818. He was born 1780 and died 1862.

and published, in three volumes, under the title of 'The Stranger in England, or Travels in Great Britain, in 1807.' The work seems to have been successful. although one seldom comes across a copy now, for in the following year it was re-issued as 'Memorials of Nature and Art, collected on a journey in Great Britain'; and as late as 1821 it was again brought out with a fresh title which read simply: 'A Foreigner's Opinion of England.' Of its author little or nothing seems known other than is evidenced by the book he wrote on this country; but he is one of that long list of strangers who have visited our land and left their impressions of it. The Grand Duke Cosimo and the Duke of Stettin and Hentzner, in the sixteenth century; Sorbière and Bassompierre in the seventeenth; and De Saussure, Muralt, Voltaire, Count Kilmansegge, M. Grosley, and C. P. Moritz at a later dateoccur to me. Unlike some of these. Herr Goede seems to have acquainted himself thoroughly and adequately with our ways of life, and our institutions. A certain rancour is observable in those travellers such as Voltaire and Muralt who set themselves to philosophise as well as to describe: M. Grosley, while attempting something more ambitious than either, was painfully handicapped by not knowing a word of English, although from his lodgings near Leicester Square he seems to have seen most things and carried away fairly accurate impressions; but Herr Goede did not suffer under such disabilities, and his account of London and its inhabitants is at once exhaustive and flattering.

The moment for a foreigner to visit these shores was not inauspicious. The Peace of Amiens, short-lived as it was, was about to be signed, and not till the May of the following year was war again declared against the Corsican tyrant, whose indecent behaviour to Lord Whitworth in the preceding February was undoubtedly intended to precipitate hostilities. While, then, the nation was taking breath, as it were, Herr Goede came to London and began his investigations into the manners and customs of England and the English. Addressing himself, they are his own words, 'to those whose feelings lead them to consider life with the unbiased urbanity of a citizen of the world,' he at once hastens to correct the mistaken notion of many travellers that London is dark and

gloomy, and excuses those who have been impressed with this idea by supposing that they must have seen it only in April, November, or December, when he confesses that 'a thick humid fog envelopes the whole for the greatest part of the day'; while, on the other hand, he assures his countrymen that in the spring (he seems to have forgotten April and its fogs) and summer months 'London is quite as cheerful in its appearance as any other large city whatever'; and not only this, but, he adds: 'the width of the principal streets, the cleanness of the pavements, the splendour of the plate-glass windows, the indescribable magnificence of the shops, the continual throng of well-dressed people, and, above all, the lawns and gardens which enliven the grand squares, produce a chain of agreeable impressions unknown on the Continent.'

Goede took up his residence in Southampton Row, and on his arrival found that the Duke of Bedford was engaged in building largely near-by. Indeed, Russell Square was actually then in course of formation: Bedford Square had been but recently finished; and Bloomsbury generally, with its smaller squares and innumerable streets, was just being created; even one side of Southampton Row was an open space when Goede first came to live here. So rapidly did the building go on, however, that after being some months in the country and returning to town, our enthusiastic visitor fancied himself 'transported into a fairy world, where by the powers of a magic wand palaces and gardens had suddenly found existence.' At this time London contained about 860,000 inhabitants, and even this to us modest number gives our friend furiously to think, and he is the more amazed at these figures when he learns from a friend that they are quite independent of the foreigners and strangers staying temporarily in the metropolis. He finds, too, in London a far greater number of what he calls 'opulent idlers' than in Paris, and the number of travellers is so great, far exceeding that in any part of Europe, that no fewer than ten thousand persons daily pay toll at the several turnpikes-actual receipts prove it!

With the adaptability of one to whose mental mill all is grist, Goede turns from the question of population to that of illumination, and as on April 29, 1802, there was a general rejoicing for the Peace of Amiens, when the house

of M. Otto, the French Ambassador, in Portman Square, was gorgeously lighted up, and indeed the whole of London was en fête, he had an excellent opportunity of observing how they did things on such occasions. He notes the crown and stars, garlands and festoons displayed, and remarks that for the most part the decorations took the form of transparencies 'emblematical of naval conquests and national glory,' and in one place he saw 'a wholelength figure of Britannia with an olive branch,' while in Charing Cross, which was so crowded that 'the whole town seemed to be collected there ' and he had difficulty in passing through, he was struck by a device representing 'a vessel floating on illuminated waves, the motion of which was produced by clockwork, the whole surrounded by a garland of lamps, with the motto "Britain's Glory," as displayed by 'a tasteful and ingenious watchmaker.'

But the good Goede did not confine himself to the contemplation of such ephemeral vanities; 'a faithful portrait of London,' says he, 'ought to comprehend a view of the various occupations to which the industry of the inhabitants severally directs their attention,' and so with a passing denial that the metropolis consists of a chaos of the irregular, narrow, dirty, and ill-built streets which some travellers, he finds, affirm, and a statement to the effect that there are many both broad and handsome, and much more clean than any city on the Continent can boast, he hurries us away to Temple Bar and the 'peculiar seat of commerce' that lies eastward of it. He visits the Pool of London and discovers 'vessels passing in full sail'; he penetrates into the famed Billingsgate, and finds 'the peculiar order of females who carry on business there,' as he calls them, so vociferous, and the permeating odour of the place so offensive, that without prosecuting his inquiries into the arcana of trade or the mysteries of language, he leaves for fresh fields of investigation.

The Custom House (which, by the way, was designed by Ripley, and destroyed by fire in 1814) struck him, as it might well have done, as less impressive than that at Dublin, Gandon's masterpiece; but the magnificent Docks 'constructed for the West India ships,' properly impress him. Neither the Bank nor the Royal Exchange, however, came up to his expectations considering the bulk of trade and business they represented, but we must remember that the present buildings of the former were not finished till a quarter of a century after Herr Goede's visit, and the latter was then Jarman's relatively insignificant predecessor of the present impressive structure. What did strike the traveller, however, was the tenuity of some of the offices in which 'merchants of consequence' carried on great businesses. You would experience, he says, in effect, addressing his countrymen, much difficulty even with a map, in finding Great and Little St Helens, yet in these obscure courts some of the wealthiest have their counting houses. You would find Lombard Street narrow and dark, but you would discover the wealthy

and eminent bankers in its gloomy recesses.

Great is the virtue of advertisement; and Goede has several stories to tell of its efficacy in the year of grace How a razor-maker on Ludgate Hill realised a fortune by announcing to the public 'his incomparable razors' in gilt letters three feet high; how a grocer set up a bee-hive as a sign and immediately did a roaring trade. to be followed by a whole swarm of competitive bee-hives, whereupon the first institutor of this sign was obliged perforce to advertise in the papers that he was the sole proprietor of the original and celebrated bee-hive, and adjured a too confiding public to beware of counterfeits: and how yet another adventurous body, this time a grocer in Cheapside, set up an enormous grasshopper which in process of time so multiplied that he had to state publicly that his was 'the only genuine and unadulterated grasshopper.' The question, too, of the use, often an illegal use, of the royal arms was one that exercises our friend. as it has exercised others since, and he mentions a certain hatter in The Strand, as setting up the armorial bearings of the Prince of Wales, simply on the strength of having done some journeyman work for the Prince's regular hatter.

Nothing apparently escaped the eagle eye of Herr Goede; not the notice on a shop near Leicester Square blazoning the fact that the proprietor was 'Bug Destroyer to His Majesty'; not the splendid signboard in the New Road intimating to all and sundry that its owner was 'Purveyor of Asses' Milk to Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York'; not the excellent business capacity of the man who opened a shop for the sale of a new sort of lead pencil; deluged the town with paper

advertisements and handbills, and, in short, let loose the dogs of réclame, without so much as selling a pencil; when suddenly a change occurs; dashing carriages drive up to stationers all over the town inquiring for So-and-So's pencils, and when the shopman replies that he has none, the indignant and fashionable occupants of the carriages tell their coachmen to drive to a better shop. In a word, so great a demand assures the success of the venture, and 'So-and-So's Pencils sold here' appears in every stationer's windows; the inventor meanwhile making a small fortune, and, one hopes, duly remunerating the fashionable throng which he had hired to advertise

thus obliquely his goods!

He starts at six o'clock in the morning. The streets are then quite empty, the lamps are still burning; the shops unopened; but soon stray people begin to pass along, workmen going to their day's employment: carts and wagons journeying to or from Covent Garden and elsewhere. At eight the shops are opened; hackney coaches begin to rumble over the stones; 'the man of business goes in search of bargains; the unmarried man calls for his breakfast at a coffee-house.' An hour later the higher commerce is on the move: bankers and merchants come to their offices 'from their country boxes. in elegant equipages,' and the ordinary bustle increases till one o'clock, when it is added to by carriages from the West End which, says our author, 'then begin to crowd the city'; what time, 'men of business go upon 'Change.' The Bank and Exchange close at three and the 'Fashionables' return to their own country in the West End from shopping in The Strand and Fleet Street. Two hours later the coffee-houses begin to fill up and soon 'elegant lamps' are lit over shop-fronts, and in such profusion as to produce 'a very brilliant effect.'

At ten o'clock the shops close, after a strenuous day, and gamblers, with whom Goede brackets house-breakers and robbers of all descriptions, come forth; but our traveller hastens to add (and this will surprise many readers) that so well guarded are the main streets 'by the common watchmen and the police that open attacks are infinitely more rare than in the streets of any metropolis on the Continent.' One cannot, however, but remember that Mr Colquhoun, in his work on the Police of the

Metropolis, at this period, not only proves their general inadequacy, but even goes so far as to tell a long-suffering public that it is practically guarded by no police at all. Goede seems, indeed, to have known all about this too, but he draws the nice distinction at the reforms necessary in what he calls the 'police of personal safety,' and 'personal convenience,' which he affirms cannot be better provided for; a distinction which will seem without much difference to Londoners of to-day.

As may be supposed, if the German saw the East through such rosy-coloured spectacles, the West End of the town gave him still greater satisfaction. The houses of Portland Place, designed by the Adam brothers in 1778, are magnificent; those in Piccadilly elegant (that much-loved eighteenth-century word), that of Calonne, the celebrated French Finance Minister, which stood where Lord Rothschild's * is now, particularly striking the great private palaces of the Dukes of Northumberland and Devonshire, Lords Lansdowne. Spencer, and Chesterfield; the splendid Squares 'consisting of large regular areas, the buildings around, corresponding in architectural order and ornaments'; the beauty of the Parks and the fashionable turmoil of Bond Street, all impress Goede as they have impressed every foreigner who has seen them. Curiously enough, our traveller who is ready to be pleased with what appears to us not always pleasing, falls foul of the royal residence: 'the building which exclusively claims the name of palace,' he writes, 'and is the residence of England's Kings, bears an appearance perfectly miserable,' and elsewhere he speaks of it as standing in an obscure situation and resembling a monastery; and he was not speaking of Buckingham Palace, which had not yet taken the place of the red brick Buckingham House, but of St. James's Palace with its Tudor gateway, and (to our ideas) its picturesque Georgian courtyards, and long, low frontage to The Mall.

Goede seems to have had the entrée to some of the more famous galleries, Mr Hope's and Lord Lansdowne's, Mr Agar's, and that at Buckingham House, and has plenty

^{*} It was the French Embassy, at Nos. 146 and 147 Piccadilly, which then formed a single house.

to say about them and their treasures; but he does not seem to have ventured into the penetralia of the clubs, although he has, of course, something to record about many of their distinguished members, particularly that mighty son of faro—Charles James Fox. On the other hand, the coffee-houses, as was but natural, receive his close attention, and he draws a parallel between those in London and those in Paris, not very flattering to the former which, he says, on first acquaintance reminded him of a Quakers' meeting, where, he adds, with a touch of that humour observable throughout this book, 'the pious congregation awaited the inspiration of the spirit to cheer the melancholy stillness of the place,' although he concludes that, 'after dinner, it must be confessed, the port wine appears to open the hearts and untie the

tongues of the company.'

When we read in this record of London life a hundred and thirty odd years since, that about one o'clock carriages crowd Bond Street, making it almost impassable, 'and the frequent stoppages at the different shops abounding in every article of taste and luxury, create much confusion'; that at three o'clock the world begins to disport itself in Hyde Park, whence it returns about five; that a rout is a scene of much confusion and that the play is over by about eleven, we might easily imagine that a description, not very far from incorrect, was being given of the London life of to-day; but when we learn that in the residential quarters of the West End hardly a soul is visible till eleven in the morning; that coachmen in setting down at dances, drive furiously against each other, that ladies scream and lords swear, and carriages are damaged and footmen quarrel with each other, and all, in short, is, as Browning phrases it, 'wrangle, abuse and vociferance,' we may at least comfort ourselves with the reflection that the good old times had their drawbacks.

But, perhaps, the most striking change that has occurred since those times is in the matter of public amusements. In these days when theatres and cinemas and music-halls jostle each other in every main street, it will seem indeed strange to find a writer telling us in 1802, that the Play is generally over at eleven o'clock, when above five thousand leave the two theatres. One of these was, of course, Covent Garden, which was burnt

down six years later; the other, Drury Lane, which met the same fate a year after, although, as a matter of fact, the 'Little Theatre' in the Haymarket was then still in existence, not permanently closing its doors till 1820. Indeed, in this very year (1802) Colman the younger, then lessee, engaged Charles Matthews to act there. Other entertainments were such as Maillardet's wonderful automatons in Spring Gardens, where different exhibitions are now held: the curiosities gathered together by the resourceful Mr Coxe, where might be seen a watch without wheels or springs, a female figure with a nosegay which, after smelling, she removes 'with a careless air': and a mechanical garden with a 'circus of love' filled with all sorts of dramatic divinities. Then there were the views of remarkable places 'executed in basso-relievo of wrought ivory, with a delicacy and skill that astonishes every one,' with which two enterprising Germans, Dresch and Stephanie, tempted the idle in Bond Street; and Miss Linwood's ingenious wool-work pictures, one of which may still be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which were on view in Leicester Square and were 'patronised by the ladies in particular, with enthusiasm.' The pottery showrooms of Mr Wedgwood formed also another lounge. and then, as now, the Auction Rooms of Christie's and Phillips' were daily crowded by a fashionable throng.

To follow Herr Goede through all the ramifications of his three volumes would necessitate a small volume in itself. His rapid sketch of the daily life of a 'buck' of the period; his chapter devoted to a consideration of the lower strata of London life; his excursions into the complicated political aspect of the period, to say nothing of his descriptions of other parts of England, all make interesting, sometimes fascinating, reading. A genuine Anglophile, he sometimes allows his partiality for this country to sway his judgment, but few will find fault with him for this; and I can imagine him as a sort of German Pickwick beaming through mighty spectacles, and making observations with the benevolence and, again to quote

him, 'the urbanity of a citizen of the world.'

E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR.

Art. 12.-LABOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION.

'THE Crisis of Democracy,' 'The Failure of Parliamentary Government '-phrases such as these have become a commonplace of contemporary political controversy. convinced Communist or Fascist affirms without hesitation that representative democracy has outlived its purpose: that a form of government suitable to the needs of an individualistic society cannot serve the ends of the Positive State: that every new principle of government must develop its appropriate institutions. Parliamentary democracy, we are told, was the instrument which, in an age of free competition, ensured the domination of the Capitalist class: Socialism and Fascism, if they are to become effective, must devise their own machinery of government. Criticism of our constitutional system is not, however, confined to those who advocate a radical change in the structure of society: there can be found in every section of the community, in every political Party, a body of opinion which, although it repudiates all forms of dictatorship and professes a sincere belief in the fundamental value of democracy, none the less maintains that the existing institutions of democratic government are outworn and inefficient, and that a drastic reform of the machinery of government is necessary if the democratic principle is to survive. Between these two schools of thought the Left Wing of the Labour Party is for the time being suspended in a position of uncertain equilibrium.

Sir Stafford Cripps, who is the political mouthpiece of the Intellectuals of the Socialist League, has gained a certain notoriety by attempting to win the approval of his Party for a programme based upon the political philosophy of Professor Harold Laski and of Mr G. D. H. Cole. His utterances, like those of most political propagandists of his type, are violent, provocative, and inconsistent, and to understand the full implication of his proposals, therefore, it is necessary to go to the source

from which they spring.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the harm that is done at the present time by ill-informed critics of the existing Constitution who cling to their faith in representative democracy and yet maintain that the parliamentary system in this country is incapable of solving the complex industrial and economic problems of our age. They profess to be opposed to all violent action and vet they engender the kind of vague unreasoned discontent which provides fertile ground for extremist propaganda. Their arguments show a complete lack of understanding of the working of our institutions and are usually based upon the false assumption that the breakdown of democratic government in Italy and in Germany is a proof of the inefficiency of the British parliamentary system. They ignore the fact that in this country the concentration of power in the hands of the Cabinet has made it possible to combine strong government with popular control and that it is, therefore, fruitless to draw comparisons with continental democracies which have failed because they were unable to produce a stable and efficient Executive.

The more acute thinkers of the Socialist League have little in common with this point of view. Professor Laski tells us that he is no believer in the 'mechanical improvement of institutions.' * He is, indeed, too well informed, too accomplished a master of the science of politics, to believe that the efficiency of Parliament could be increased by devices such as proportional representation, or devolution, or functional representation. He advocates reform of the procedure of the House of Commons, but does not consider that this could in itself solve the problem of government. Representative Democracy, he maintains, has failed, or is likely to fail, not because Parliament is inefficient, but because the conditions that made parlia-

mentary government successful no longer exist.

Professor Laski contends that the parliamentary system worked well in the nineteenth century because there was no radical difference between political Parties. All sections of the community wished to maintain the fundamental structure of society, and Liberals and Conservatives could, therefore, succeed one another in office without a complete reversal of policy; they were agreed as to the great ends of life; they differed only as to the means by which those ends should be accomplished. The owners of capital enjoyed effective political and economic power; the pursuit of private gain was considered the legitimate motive of individual

^{*} See 'Democracy in Crisis,' by Harold Laski, pages 144-149.

action; the function of the Government was 'to hold the ring' while the owners of capital engaged in the endless struggle for profits. It was possible during a period of ever-growing commercial and industrial prosperity to win the half-hearted support of the working classes by a policy of steadily increasing expenditure on social services.

The present generation, we are told, is faced by an entirely different situation. Capitalist society is being destroyed by the results of its own inefficiency. It can no longer ensure to the workers a continuous improvement in the standard of life: the workers are determined to establish an 'Egalitarian State' and to renounce 'the profit-making impulse.' There has been a new alignment of political Parties: the reactionaries have concentrated their forces, they will allow no fundamental change in the existing order, and are separated by an impassable gulf from those who demand a complete reorganisation of the social system. It is no longer possible to envisage a smooth alternation of Conservative and Labour Administrations; there can be no continuity of policy: every Government will reverse the legislation of its predecessor. It is, moreover, difficult to believe that the present 'ruling classes' would submit peacefully to a renunciation of their privileges, if the Labour Party were in a position to attack the rights of property by constitutional means. This line of argument would seem to lead directly to the Marxian theory of revolutionary Socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. this is a conclusion which the writers of the Socialist League have so far refused to accept, and their failure to face the full implications of their own doctrine has led them into innumerable inconsistencies.

Sir Stafford Cripps tells us that the continuance of Capitalism means not democratic Capitalism, whose era is past, but 'autocratic Capitalism'; this will lead 'perhaps to an industrial serfdom, but inevitably and without doubt to intensified competition and more and more brutal wars until civilisation, as we know it, disappears in a welter of chaos.'* Socialism is the only remedy, but it is doubtful whether Socialism can be

^{*} See Socialist League Pamphlet, 'The Choice for Britain,' by Sir Stafford Cripps, pages 5 and 13.

carried into effect by parliamentary means. 'Parliamentary Democracy in the form in which we know it is the outcome of the Liberal movement of the nineteenth century; it is not an eternal verity, nor is it even in its present form a useful machine for achieving changes such as we desire.' When this kind of criticism arouses opposition in his own Party. Sir Stafford Cripps falls back on those very mechanical improvements which Professor Laski has condemned as futile or inadequate. At one moment he appears to be challenging the whole basis of the Constitution: at the next he tells us that all he wants is an adjustment in the procedure of the House of Commons and power to override the opposition of the House of Lords.* This alternation between violence and moderation is not unnaturally a cause of embarrassment to his political associates. At the last Annual Conference of the Labour Party Mr. Shinwell pointed out that there was not the faintest relationship between the articles written by members of the Socialist League and the speech that had just been made by Sir Stafford Cripps in defence of the policy of the League.†

It is only fair to say in this connection that the members of the Socialist League write as individuals and not as representatives of an organised body of opinion; they may arrive at similar conclusions, but there is great variety in their arguments. It is clear to any one who has studied his writings with care that Professor Laski has drunk too deep of the Liberalism, which he despises, to find palatable the strong food of Marxian materialism. He advocates out-and-out Socialism; he intends to ride rough-shod over all opposition: but he still retains a lingering regard for parliamentary methods and professes a sincere love of freedom. It is probable that Mr G. D. H. Cole, with his clearer, less contemplative intellect, his harder, more ruthless temperament, would frankly prefer a Socialist dictatorship, but does not consider it expedient to say so. T Sir Stafford Cripps seems anxious, for the

^{*} See a letter by Mr A. L. Rowse in 'The Times,' Jan. 26, 1934. He attempts to explain away as innocuous everything that Sir Stafford Cripps has said.

[†] See 'Report of Thirty-third Annual Conference of the Labour Party, Hastings, 1933, page 162.

[†] See an essay on 'Socialist Control of Industry,' by G. D. H. Cole, in Problems of a Socialist Government' (Gollancz, 1933). It is significant

time being at least, to avoid a definite decision; as his mind is less subtle and his method of controversy more crude, so his inconsistencies are also more glaring than those of Professor Laski. He constantly affirms that Socialism can be attained only by democratic means, that the next Labour Government must have an independent majority in the House of Commons and a definite mandate from the people; and yet the arbitrary methods which he advocates, including a proposal to take away from the Courts the power to decide the validity of Ministerial orders.* would not be necessary unless they were intended to enable a determined, well-organised minority to force its policy upon a reluctant majority. In any case, whatever their individual views may be, there is general agreement among the protagonists of the Socialist League that the odium for the destruction of the Constitution must be thrown on the Opposition; it must appear as the result, not of Socialist dictatorship, but of Capitalist sabotage.

It is for this reason that the leaders of the left wing of the Labour Party are so anxious to convince their supporters that the formation of the present National Government involved a final break with established constitutional tradition. They contend that the strain to which the Constitution was put during the crisis of 1931 revealed the weakness inherent in the system and that subsequent events have made a return to normal party government impossible. The aims of Socialism and of Capitalism are, they maintain, no longer reconcilable, and a breakdown in the machinery of government is therefore

that when this essay was first published as a Socialist League Pamphlet he wrote 'nor can we put limits to the degree of dictatorial power which, under stress of the emergency, our Socialist Government may have to assume.' This was afterwards changed to 'administrative power.' See

'Problems of a Socialist Government,' page 185.

^{* &#}x27;In the extended use of Ministerial orders for giving legislative effect to the general principles laid down by Parliament, one great change must be effected. At the present time, it is left to the Courts to decide whether these orders are within the powers given by Parliament. It is always possible for them to be challenged in the Courts and declared invalid. This power must be taken from the Courts and the sole right to challenge such orders must rest with Parliament.' See 'Can Socialism come by Constitutional Methods?' by Sir Stafford Cripps, page 9. Professor Laski goes even further than Sir Stafford Cripps in this connection, and would deny to the judges the power to interpret Statutes. See 'The Labour Party and the Constitution,' page 23.

inevitable. They assert that 'the present holder of power' will, even if the Labour Party is returned with a clear majority at an election, attempt to use the Prerogatives of the Crown and the authority of the House of Lords to prevent a Socialist Government from taking office or at least to make it impossible for such a Government to carry its measures by constitutional means.

Sir Stafford Cripps is reported to have said in a speech at Nottingham * that the Labour Party when it came into power would have to 'overcome opposition from Buckingham Palace and from other places as well.' He subsequently explained this statement by saving that he was not referring to the Crown. 'The term Buckingham Palace is a well-known expression used to describe court circles and the officials and other people who surround the King at Buckingham Palace. . . . One always assumes the complete impartiality of the Crown in this country. That is the great basic assumption of our constitution. This explanation is, of course, entirely specious. The opposition of 'court circles and officials at Buckingham Palace' could not do the Labour Party any harm so long as the King himself remained impartial. But if the King allowed the partiality of his 'court circles' to affect material political issues or to influence him in the exercise of his Prerogative, he would be failing in his constitutional duty no less than if he allowed his personal feelings or prejudices to affect his actions. It is the ageold accusation of 'evil counsellors.'

It would serve no useful purpose to draw further attention to an apparently meaningless indiscretion, were it not so easy to see the source from which Sir Stafford Cripps has drawn his inspiration. Professor Laski has frequently asserted that the constitutional crisis of 1931 led to an undesirable revival of the Royal Prerogative and that this might prove dangerous to the Labour Party in the future. He makes it clear that he attributed none but the highest motives to the Sovereign, but he suggests, none the less, that he might, in the event of an emergency caused by a Labour victory at the polls, allow the Prerogative to be exploited in the interests of the forces of

^{*} See the report in 'The Times,' Jan. 8, 1934, of an address delivered by Sir Stafford Cripps to the University Labour Federation at Nottingham.

reaction or even attempt himself to play the part of 'a

Patriot King.' *

These dangers arise in the imagination of Professor Laski because the constitutional rules or conventions which determine the exercise of the Royal Prerogatives are not fixed and rigid and because the Sovereign may, in certain circumstances, find himself called upon to use his own discretion. He deduces from this that the conventions can always be interpreted in the light of expediency and that precedents can always be found to justify any action however arbitrary. It is, of course, true that the custom of the Constitution has grown with the passing of time and that this continual process of change has enabled the machinery of government to adapt itself to the needs of each succeeding generation. This does not mean that the Prerogatives of the Crown constitute a sinister reserve of power or that the conventions of the Constitution are an unintelligible mystery. These same or similar powers. governed by similar rules and conventions, are entrusted to the Head of the State wherever there is a system of responsible parliamentary government. For the purposes of our present inquiry it would make no material difference whether we were considering the powers of an hereditary Monarch or of an elected President. There is no need for Professor Laski to throw dust in the eves of the reader by talking of the 'strange metaphosis [sic] of limited Monarchy.' †

The right to dissolve Parliament is one of the most important of the Prerogatives of the Crown, and it is clear that according to the existing custom of the Constitution the Sovereign must be guided by the advice of the Prime Minister in the exercise of this Prerogative. The threat to bring about a dissolution of Parliament is the most effective weapon which a Prime Minister possesses to discipline his supporters and to control and direct the activities of the House of Commons; it achieves its purpose only because the Prime Minister can safely assume that the Sovereign will, if the necessity arises, enable him to

carry out his threat.

The conventions which determine the action of the

† Ibid., page 113.

^{*} See ' Democracy in Crisis,' by Professor Laski, page 120.

Crown in the appointment of Ministers are much more difficult to define. It is in the nature of things impossible that the Sovereign should transfer the exercise of this Prerogative to the Prime Minister. It is true that he can no longer refuse to accept the recommendations of the Prime Minister in regard to the appointment of his colleagues; and it is customary for him to consult the retiring Prime Minister as to the choice of his successor; but, whenever difficulties arise, the Sovereign must rely on his own judgment in deciding which parliamentary leader is most likely to succeed in forming a Government. This obvious fact is often lost sight of. because the effect of the two-party system, as we know it in this country, is to make the appointment of a Prime Minister a mere formality, since in normal circumstances the Sovereign has no alternative but to choose the leader of the Party which commands a majority in the House of Commons. It may be possible, even when there are three Parties, to follow the simple rule of choosing the leader of the largest Party, but a further disintegration of Parties would inevitably lead to an increase in the responsibility of the Crown. The experience of continental parliamentary systems has shown that wherever the group system prevails and the choice of a Prime Minister presents serious difficulties, it is impossible for the Head of the State to follow the automatic rule of choosing the leader of the largest Party or to delegate his task to the defeated Prime Minister. The negotiations leading to the appointment of a new Cabinet may be long and complicated, and it is often the leader of a small centre Party who eventually succeeds in forming a coalition. It is sincerely to be hoped that the continental group system will never take root in this country, but, should the disorganisation of Parties lead to an increase in the power of the Crown, the blame would rest, not with the Sovereign, but with the Commons.

Professor Laski condemns the convention by which the commission from the Sovereign to the Prime Minister is a personal one. He considers that this convention is incompatible with the theory of collective Cabinet responsibility. He points out that, although the Prime Minister holds office in virtue of his position as leader of a Party, he can bring about the resignation of his Government or ask for a dissolution of Parliament, on his own responsibility and without even consulting his Cabinet. It is a vast exaggeration to deduce from this that every Cabinet is at the mercy of the Prime Minister. Professor Laski accuses Mr Ramsay MacDonald of bringing about the fall of the second Labour Government against the wish of the majority of the Cabinet; he entirely ignores the fact that Mr MacDonald's action could not have deprived the Labour Party of power, if Mr Henderson had been able to command a majority in the House of Commons.

The events of 1931 have, it appears, undermined the confidence of the Labour Party in its own leaders. At the last Annual Conference it was agreed that whenever a Labour Government is in office the Prime Minister shall be tied by majority decisions of the Cabinet and that he shall only recommend the dissolution of Parliament on the decision of the Cabinet confirmed by a parliamentary party meeting. There is, of course, nothing to prevent the Labour Party from including in its own rules a selfdenying ordinance limiting the power of the Prime Minister; but it is not likely that such a rule will lead to the strong forceful action upon which all sections of the Party set such store. The right to threaten a dissolution of Parliament would lose all force if it were transferred from the Prime Minister to the party Caucus; any discontented group which could win over a bare majority of the rank and file would be able to challenge the authority of the leaders and to destroy or to amend Government Bills without being called upon to justify its actions to the electorate.

Professor Laski, however, is not primarily concerned with the respective rights of Cabinet and Prime Minister, but with the powers of the Crown. He asserts that the choice of Mr MacDonald as head of the National Government was due to the personal preference of the King.

'MacDonald was as little a democratic choice for the Premiership as Lord Bute in 1760 or the younger Pitt in 1783. He was chosen by the King to carry on the Government, borrowing the majority necessary for his purpose from a coalition of his opponents. . . . Crown influence has rarely exerted so profound an influence in modern times. . . . The new Cabinet was born of a Palace Revolution: and the

importance of that origin is none the less great because it has been so brilliantly concealed from the public.' *

There is, of course, no shadow of foundation for such a statement. Professor Laski writes almost as though a 'Palace Revolution' had caused the fall of a Government which enjoyed the confidence of the House of Commons. It is possible, not to say probable, that the King considered the formation of a National Government under the leadership of Mr MacDonald to be the best method of dealing with the emergency caused by the break-up of the Labour Cabinet, but no amount of 'stretching of the Prerogative' could have enabled him to bring a National Government into being had not the Liberals and Conservatives, representing a majority in the House of Commons, been in favour of such a solution.

Professor Laski reaches the conclusion that the Labour Party, if ever it succeeds in gaining power by peaceful means, must immediately introduce legislation to define and to limit the Royal Prerogative. In a Socialist League Pamphlet entitled the 'Labour Party and the Constitution' (pp. 6 and 7) he writes:

'The right of the Crown to exercise a personal discretion in the choice of a Prime Minister must go. This power, which the crisis of 1931 showed still to be an active one, is a weapon liable in any critical position to dangerous abuse. . . . So long as the prerogative is undefined a crisis may call it into play; and the personal relations of the Monarch make it tolerably certain that it will be exercised against the interests of Labour.'

Professor Laski does not explain what he means by the definition of the Prerogative. The Sovereign has no personal discretion in the choice of the Prime Minister so long as any one leader can command a majority in the House of Commons, but no human ingenuity can devise an infallible rule to cover all the circumstances which might occur as a result of the break-up or realignment of Parties. In August 1931 the Labour Party was a discredited minority, and this is a sufficient explanation of the fact that the King did not ask Mr Henderson to form a Government, but, if at any time the Socialists possessed

See 'The Constitution and the Crisis,' by Professor Laski. Hogarth Press, 1932.

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a majority in the House of Commons, the King would have neither the right nor the power to refuse them office.

The other members of the Socialist League are content to avoid the thorny subject of the Royal Prerogative and to concentrate their attacks upon the House of Lords. Few serious students of our political institutions would deny that the present composition of the House of Lords is indefensible, and there is a strong body of opinion which considers that, while it would be desirable to increase the powers of the Second Chamber, it would be unjustifiable to do so unless it were reconstructed on an entirely democratic basis.* But, although the need for reform is urgent, it is by no means true to assert that the existing House of Lords could, with the limited powers at its disposal, bring the whole constitutional machinery to a There is every reason to suppose that, if the standstill. Labour Party were in office, the Lords would act in accordance with the established constitutional principle that they must give way to any Government which has a clear majority in the House of Commons, and a direct mandate from the people. It is, moreover, always possible for the Prime Minister, should the House of Lords prove obstructive, to dissolve Parliament, to appeal to the people, and, if the verdict is favourable to the Government, to ask the Sovereign to create peers in order to override further opposition. It is a vast exaggeration to suggest that the last Labour Cabinet was crippled by the House of Lords or to assert that the Lords could make the task of government impossible for any Socialist Administration in the future. The Labour Cabinet, 1929-1931, was weak because it was in a minority in the House of Commons and because Ministers were divided among themselves and profoundly conscious of the growing dissatisfaction in the A Labour Government, with a clear majority country. in the Commons and with sufficient confidence to use the threat of dissolution, would be in an entirely different position in facing opposition in the Lords.

Professor Laski and Sir Stafford Cripps hold the view, in common with other extreme Socialists, that any future Labour Government will have to encounter obstruction.

^{*} See 'House of Lords or Senate,' by Cuthbert Headlam and Duff Cooper. Rich and Cowan, 1932.

not only from the Sovereign and the House of Lords. but also from outside Parliament, and hold, therefore, that it will be forced to assume wide dictatorial powers. The former asserts that at the General Election in October 1931 the supporters of the National Government threatened to create a financial panic if the Socialists were returned with a majority and that by this means the Labour Party was 'tricked of power.' * He admits that the financial policy of the previous Labour Government was radically unsound: he condemns Mr Snowden and Mr MacDonald because they promised increased expenditure on Social Services from a 'bankrupt Capitalism'; but neither he nor any other Socialist will face the fact that Mr Henderson was defeated at the General Election because he advocated an even more fantastic financial policy and made promises which strained the credulity of many of his most ardent supporters. The electoral defeat of 1931 appears to have warped the minds of the Socialist Intellectuals. They put forward a purely hypothetical argument as to what would have happened had the Labour Party won the election; they conjure up imaginary Capitalist stratagems and financial machinations, and deduce from this that 'Capitalist sabotage' will inevitably be used to wreck a future Labour Government and to make it impossible for the Socialists to rule even if they are returned with a clear parliamentary majority. Sir Stafford Cripps asserts that 'these recent political events . . . provide the clearest demonstration of the power of capitalism to overthrow a popularly elected government by extra Parliamentary means.' † The whole question is important because the supposed threat of financial sabotage is used by the Socialist League writers to justify the demand for emergency powers and to make this demand appear as a defensive rather than an offensive measure. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion among them as to what is meant by 'emergency powers,' and one is almost tempted to believe that this lack of clarity is deliberate.

In his pamphlet 'The Labour Party and the Constitution' Professor Laski suggests that under a Socialist

^{*} See 'The Constitution and the Crisis,' Hogarth Press, 1932.

[†] See 'Problems of a Socialist Government,' page 36.

administration the parliamentary system would continue to function normally and that temporary emergency powers would be used only in the event of an immediate financial crisis. In his 'Democracy in Crisis,' however, he writes:

'I believe that the attainment of power by the Labour Party in the normal electoral fashion must result in a radical transformation of parliamentary government. Such an administration could not, if it sought to be effective, accept the present forms of its procedure. It would have to take vast powers, and legislate under them by ordinance and decree; it would have to suspend the classic formulæ of normal opposition. If its policy met with peaceful acceptance, the continuance of parliamentary government would depend upon its possession of guarantees from the Conservative Party that its word of transformation would not be disrupted by repeal in the event of its defeat at the polls.'

The suggestion in the last sentence is of course fantastic; the form of parliamentary government is to be maintained only on condition that the Conservatives will undertake, when they are returned to office, to carry out the wishes, not of the people who have elected them, but of the Labour Government which they have succeeded. Presumably Professor Laski is putting the argument ad absurdum in order to show that the maintenance of parliamentary institutions is impossible. In any case the whole passage, confused and nebulous though it is, gives the impression that his conception of emergency powers is not as innocuous as he would sometimes have us suppose.

Mr G. D. H. Cole considers that the first act of a Socialist Government should be the introduction, not only of an Emergency Powers Bill, but also of a General Powers Bill, giving to the Cabinet full authority to expropriate private property and to socialise the whole of industry.* This would amount to a complete abdication of Parliament; all the constructive work of government, the discussion of policy, the planning of industry, the criticism of legislation, would be done, not in the House of Commons, but in Reorganisation Commissions and Economic Councils on which only Socialists and experts would be allowed to sit. This is nothing more nor less

^{*} See 'Problems of a Socialist Government,' page 56.

than the kind of party dictatorship which has been established in Germany, in Italy, and in Russia. Sir Stafford Cripps in his Socialist League pamphlets leads the reader to suppose that if he and his friends were in authority the normal procedure of parliamentary government would be suspended and that the electorate would be given no opportunity of reversing its decision.* In his speech at the Labour Party Conference, however, he adopted a much more moderate tone. He accused the 'Tory Press' of 'raising the bogy of an Emergency Powers Act 'and declared that all he had in mind was a measure similar to the Act of 1921. He pointed out that under that measure the Government is given power to issue orders which must be confirmed by Parliament within seven days; and that powers of this kind 'have no relation to dictatorship.' † It would be interesting to know whether on this point Sir Stafford Cripps would repudiate the views of other members of the Socialist League.

It is clear that if Sir Stafford Cripps means no more than he says by 'emergency powers,' these powers could quite easily be established by parliamentary means. But constitutional difficulties spring unceasingly from the fertile minds of Professor Laski and Sir Stafford Cripps. They emphasise the importance of the 'time element' and urge that the wrecking activities of Capitalist financiers and industrialists would cause complete chaos while the Government would be helpless in the face of the opposition of the House of Lords. 'The Labour leaders cannot allow the emergency to deepen while they spend anxious days in discussion with the leaders of the Lords about the terms of possible accommodation.' The Labour Party must therefore obtain a clear mandate from the people to abolish the House of Lords, and, on the strength of that mandate, extract from the Crown an unconditional undertaking to create peers whenever this is deemed necessary. Professor Laski and Sir Stafford

^{*} See 'Problems of a Socialist Government,' page 39. Unless during the first five years so great a degree of change has been accomplished as to deprive Capitalism of its power, it is unlikely that a Socialist Party will be able to maintain its position of control without adopting some exceptional means, such as the prolongation of the life of Parliament for a further term without an election.

[†] See Conference Report, 1933, page 160.

I See 'The Labour Party and the Constitution,' page 7.

Cripps do not mention the obvious fact that emergency powers to deal with a financial crisis could be carried immediately against the opposition of the House of Lords since they would presumably be measures that could be certified as Money Bills by the Speaker under the

provisions of the Parliament Act, 1911.

The continual emphasis which is laid on imaginary constitutional difficulties gives the impression that the real intention of the left-wing Socialists is not to carry a temporary emergency measure to meet a passing crisis. but to force through Parliament a wide General Powers Bill which would in effect create a dictatorship. A measure of this kind would undoubtedly be held up by the House of Lords, and it is highly probable that the Sovereign, according to recent constitutional precedent, would not consent to create peers until after a second General Election. This is the only serious constitutional difficulty that a Labour Government might have to face, and it does not seem an intolerable hardship that a Government which intended to overthrow the whole structure of society should have to submit to a second General Election before it could carry its policy into practice. The nervousness displayed by Socialist League writers on this subject leads not unnaturally to the conclusion that their real object is to create a panic, to raise a cry of sabotage, and to use this as an excuse for the suppression of all legitimate opposition.

There would appear to be at present two alternatives in the sphere of politics. Either the orthodox leaders of the Labour Party may succeed in restraining the extremists and continue their aims by strictly constitutional means, or the extremists may gain the upper hand, in which case there would be danger of a violent reaction from the Right. In the event of the first contingency there is no reason why the government of the country should not be continued on normal Party lines. is true that every constitutional system presupposes a fundamental basis of agreement between all sections of the community and that government by a parliamentary majority can work satisfactorily only when the majority does not outrage the interests of the minority. But it is not true, as the leaders of the Socialist League would have us believe, that the present political situation in this

country makes inevitable a radical cleavage between Parties; the National Government is not rapidly becoming Fascist as Sir Stafford Cripps asserts: there is, probably. as much common ground between the moderate sections of all political Parties to-day as there has been in the past. Fifty years ago the principles of Liberal individualism were generally accepted; subsequently Conservatives and Liberals played an equal part in Collectivist legislation; more recently there has been a growing conviction amongst all sections of political opinion that the function of the State in the sphere of industry can no longer be confined to the provision of Social Services and that, under modern conditions, greater efficiency may be achieved by organised production than by unregulated competition. Recent legislation, dealing with the Coal-mining industry, with Transport, and with Agriculture, affords ample proof that continuity of policy is still a practical possibility.

It would, nevertheless, be folly to ignore the contingency that a well-organised minority of extremists within the Labour Party might succeed in imposing their will upon the more moderate section of the Party. It is true that the Executive Committee of the parliamentary Labour Party and also the T.U.C. have officially disclaimed the policy of the Socialist League, but in this connection it is well to remember that some of the present leaders of both these bodies are men who took part in the attempt to override Parliament in 1926. Mr Arthur Henderson. who has no doubt learnt a lesson from the failure of the General Strike, has warned his Party against any attempt to destroy our system of Government,* but his influence is no longer so powerful as it was, and Mr Lansbury, the present leader of the Party in the House of Commons, while condemning a dictatorship, yet advocates the widest use of dictatorial powers by the Socialists whenever they may secure the opportunity. 'We shall use our power to pass all forms of legislative enactments, Emergency Powers Bills, Orders in Council, Proclamations by His Majesty the King, Provisional Orders, and all other forms of constitutional machinery. + There is, therefore,

† Ibid., June 14, 1933.

^{*} The 'Daily Herald,' May 26, 1933.

apparently no marked difference in principle between the leaders of the Socialist League and the accredited leaders of the Labour Party, except that the latter are older hands at the game and are fearful of alarming the public

by the open adoption of a revolutionary policy.

Sir Stafford Cripps, on the other hand, presumably believes that in the present temper of democracy an extreme policy is more likely to win support than a moderate one. His hopes are based upon the supposition that the prevailing economic depression will lead to a permanent reduction in the national wealth and a constant deterioration in the standard of living of the people. At the last General Election the organisers of the Labour Party discovered that in a period of grave economic and financial stringency it was not possible to bribe the electors by the promise of an ever-increasing expenditure on Social Services: there is a real danger that the Labour leaders may even now refuse to face the facts of the situation; that, instead of concentrating on the problems of trade and industry, they may give way to the blandishments of Sir Stafford Cripps and his associates of the Socialist League, and adopt a new policy of bribery by holding out to the electors the phantom vision of a Socialist Commonwealth in which, in spite of a world depression, the British worker will enjoy constant employment, short hours, and high wages.

It is not likely that the vast majority of the British people would ever willingly submit to a dictatorship either of the Right or of the Left, and the adoption of the arbitrary methods of procedure advocated by the Socialist League would inevitably arouse a fierce opposition that might well result in forms of violence unknown in this country for several generations. Sir Stafford Cripps may not appreciate the value of liberty without equality, and Professor Laski may talk glibly of revolutions and civil war, but it is to be hoped that the British people will not readily sacrifice a system of government which—at a time when almost every State in Europe is suffering from political violence—has at least ensured that in this country no single life has been lost in a political disturbance.

CUTHBERT HEADLAM.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

'Four and a Half Years'—'Britain Holds On'—Spain and Samoa—'Son of Heaven'—Exploration in Africa —'Napoleon and His Marshals'—The Victorian Age— The National Character—Mr Pepys—Hans Christian Andersen—Saintsbury's Prefaces—Poetry for Children— Creation and Evolution—Toads—'The Missing Link'— Krishna—A Guide to Hospitality.

IF truth lies in the multitude of witnesses and records we should be approaching it in regard to the Great War. The latest addition to it is Dr Addison's war diary, 'Four and a Half Years' (Hutchinson), of which the first volume, to the end of 1916, is now published. It makes a competent record of the period, and deals chiefly with the formation and development of the Ministry of Munitions. It is perhaps unfortunate for Dr Addison that Mr Lloyd George's volumes, with their more picturesque writing and more persuasive eloquence, covering the same time and subject, should have appeared first; but when it comes to facts and contemporary judgments Dr Addison will not be found at a disadvantage. general impression of the book is, as in the case of Mr Lloyd George's work, that the soldiers, from Lord Kitchener down, were almost invariably incompetent, limited in outlook, lacking in vision, and obstructive; while the civilians are accorded virtue in strict proportion to their devotion to Mr Lloyd George. One may wonder what some of the distinguished people mentioned think of Dr Addison's patronising comments and criticisms of themselves and their work, but at least he has been honest in leaving his views as originally written. Mrs Caroline E. Playne, also, has completed a useful piece of work with 'Britain Holds On' (Allen and Unwin), wherein she has set down the passing psychological condition of the people of this island during the exhausting and anxious war years, 1917-18. The earlier part of her book, it is true, reflects too eloquently the reactions of those intellectual feeble-hearts who, when we were at grips with the dangers of defeat and of death, twittered and pecked over the faults of service and purpose committed at home and in the field; and with a blind

disregard for the evil threatened by any victory of Prussianism tended to help that victory by sneering at the will to fight of those who saw their duty and did it. Indirectly, through the instances of 'war-fever' given, this volume brings out the true moral stamina and courage of the British people generally, who, though suffering severely, yet went on, until the power of the Beast was shattered. Of course, there was folly and brutality often amongst those who should have known and done better, with profiteers coining gold out of the necessities of the people; but greater than the iniquities of those desperate years shine the steadfastness, self-sacrifice, and heroism—without which what would the gospellers of defeat, with their noses in the dust, be saying now?

As is shown almost daily, the Spanish Republic is still in stormy waters, and, remembering the characteristics of its diversities of people, it would not be surprising if there were a further sudden change, to the royalist right or the ultra-socialist left; but, meanwhile, how did it all come about? That is a question which many close students of Spanish recent history would be unable to answer. The beginning and developments of the revolution were so rapid and contradictory, and, on the whole, so amazingly free from blood-violence. Why? Sir George Young answers that comprehensive question with some brilliance in 'The New Spain' (Methuen). see there, as the especial iniquity of the piece throughout, the sinister influence of Clericalism, obscurantist and oppressive; and as a more real force the united armed powers of the peninsula, the Cuerpos Armados, generally loyal to those in place; with, as subsidiary causes, the exhausting wars in Morocco and the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. As for King Alfonso, Sir George speaks well of him. 'He was good as Kings go; and as good Kings go he went.' The most curious circumstance of this book is that its author appears to regard this Spanish revolution as an example for us. 'May we as quickly follow in their wake towards a new world of peaceful reconstruction and reform.' Why?

Because of Stevenson, there always has been a peculiar sympathy with the Samoans, and one of the sentiments most widely felt, at least by the literary minded, after the

war, was that 'Tusitala' would no longer be sleeping in a German grave. Government is, however, a practical business; and Dr Felix M. Keesing brings out that fact in 'Modern Samoa' (Allen and Unwin). The right administration of those islands has, indeed, been and remains a series of complicated problems; largely due to the necessity of merging old native customs and superstitions with Western business and political methods. The Samoa of Stevenson's day, a patriarchal benevolence combined with outbreaks of savagery, has gone for ever, and creditably during their fourteen years of administration the Germans set going reforms which under the mandate of New Zealand and in American Samoa have developed since. changes wrought have not been altogether successful; but there is hope, especially as there now is recognition of the necessity of combining Western culture with the established ideas of the native Samoan mind. Dr Kees-

ing's volume is helpful.

Mr C. P. Fitzgerald is a pioneer in what is practically an unknown country. 'Son of Heaven' (Cambridge University Press), a biography of Li-Shih-Min, founder of the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-905), deals with a period of history when Chinese culture and influence made itself felt throughout the Far East. Under Li-Shih-Min the T'ang Capital of Ch'ang An became the centre of a brief but glorious civilisation. T'ai Tsung, to give him his imperial title, was the Heaven-born leader for whom China had waited since the decline of the Han dynasty after the death of the Emperor Wu Ti. In war and peace alike his leadership was supreme. A profound student of the art of war in six eventful years, from 618 to 624, he had overcome no less than eleven rivals and consolidated the Empire under his single rule. Two of his outstanding qualities have been well brought out by Mr Fitzgerald—his genius for waiting upon the inevitable moment to strike, and his power of selecting the right men as his instruments. A magnetic personality, singularly modest in a conqueror and ruler, brought him the willing service and enthusiastic loyalty of the great generals and statesmen who were also his friends, and, when occasion required, his fearless critics. During the years that followed the battle of Ssu Shui, which, the author rightly says, 'may well be reckoned as one of the

decisive battles in the history of the world,' Chinese culture attained to its zenith. Mr Fitzgerald has placed us under a great obligation through his scholarly work.

Not, comparatively speaking, for much longer is Africa likely to remain the Dark Continent and a happily uncertain hunting-ground for explorers, adventurous or scientific, though, as Dr and Mrs E. B. Worthington show in their volume, 'Inland Waters of Africa' (Macmillan), there still must be many chapters of discovery to be opened there and studied. Dr Worthington led an expedition to the lakes and lake-lands of Equatorial Africa, to examine their relationship with the great rift valleys, and to suggest how best their economic possibilities might be developed. Their mission was not unsuccessful, and, incidentally, they have added valuably to the stock of knowledge about native tribes and customs. As to the fishery possibilities of those equatorial lakes and rivers, much, it is now seen, can be done in stocking with trout and other profitable fish great regions of water; thereby helping the food-problem for the natives and European settlers alike. Possibly, however, the most curious details in a work that is compact with interest have to do with those unpleasant monsters, crocodiles. Why are certain waters free of them, whereas stretches hard-by are thickly infested? Dr Worthington is able to suggest the answer, and to show how amazingly innocuous the brute may be when occupying regions hitherto unvisited by man. While the expedition slept on Crocodile Island in Lake Rudolf the creatures waddled up to the beds, sniffed, and went again. Ugh! Dr Worthington's expedition was necessarily slow-moving, but Wing-Commander Howard Williams of the Royal Air Force shows in 'Something New Out of Africa' (Pitman) how widely and rapidly the Dark Continent can be explored by aeroplane. 'H. W.,' as he appears on the title page, in his float-plane, has crossed Africa repeatedly and gone to-and-fro over it, and done great work with his camera from his bird's altitude. Surely no more remarkable photographs for range and clearness have been taken than those that illustrate this book.

Sparkling entertainment is to be expected from the author of 'England, Their England,' and in 'Napoleon and His Marshals' (Macmillan), Mr A. G. MacDonell

does not disappoint. What an amazing crowd the marshals were; ex-aristocrats, lawyers, butchers, barrelcoopers, smugglers, poets, afterwards blossoming into kings, princes, and dukes; all remarkable, all jealous of each other, and all dominated by Napoleon. Murat the magnificent, Davout the dour, Ney the bravest of the brave. Berthier the perfect chief of staff, money-loving Masséna, ebullient Bernadotte; one after another the marshals pass before us, each with his own characteristics but all doughty fighters. Behind and over all is the mighty figure of Napoleon. We could wish that in his admiration for that figure Mr MacDonell had found room for justice to Wellington, who in his few appearances in the book is consistently belittled. The reign of William IV has often been referred to as the epilogue of the Georgian epoch: Mr Gamaliel Milner, in his 'Threshold of the Victorian Age ' (Williams and Norgate), treats it as the prologue of the epoch to come, and develops his theme in a convincing manner. It is true that William IV is obviously more akin to the Georges than to Queen Victoria, but his short reign, beginning with the great Reform Act drama, undoubtedly showed stirrings and awakenings of political and industrial ideas which link it to the future rather than to the past. The Victorian age was the era of the growth of democracy and of overseas expansion, and these tendencies were already showing in the years that immediately preceded it. A few errors have crept into the book, such as the consistent misspelling of Creevey, making Lyndhurst a Viscount and Croker the editor of this Review, though it must be admitted that his dominating influence was at times almost super-editorial!

The English character is a subject of perennial interest. Mr Arthur Bryant contributes a useful and able study of it in 'The National Character' (Longmans), based on a consideration, historically and philosophically treated, of established types, such as the country gentleman, the parson, the yeoman farmer, the craftsman, the merchant, the adventurer, and the housewife. The subject lends itself easily to generalisation, and it is equally easy to refute every generalisation so reached. The Englishman is a compound of many nationalities, widely differing circumstances, and bewildering, varied characteristics.

To the Frenchman he appears unsociable, reserved, and illogical; to the Scotsman almost flighty. He grumbles at his own institutions and customs, but let a foreigner criticise them and he turns on him at once. Insults, which the stranger thinks should stir him to fury, he treats with contempt; but touch him on some apparently unimportant, though really tender, spot and he will rise and fight to the end-and then be so busy shaking hands with his former opponent that he will lose much that he had fought for. There follows another volume by Mr Bryant, 'Samuel Pepys, the Man in the Making ' (Cambridge University Press). The author has had the advantage of seeing portions of the Diary still unpublished, as well as the work of famous Pepysian scholars of the past. The result is a vivid and complete double portrait of Samuel, who stands out as the ablest and most praiseworthy Civil Servant (if that term of later years may be used) of his time and one of the most persistent and blameworthy of philanderers. Mr Bryant writes with frankness and makes what might be called a thorough pathological study of Pepvs' less creditable Such treatment would have left Lord Braybrooke aghast, but he lived in an age of less out-spoken literature. Mr Bryant ends his book at a tantalising time, just when Pepys is overcoming the opposition of obstructive colleagues and preparing to exploit on behalf of the Navy the renewed popular interest resulting from disgust at the pernicious treatment of years which had made resistance to Dutch insults impossible.

Never, surely, was greatness more industriously—even grotesquely—pursued than by 'Hans Christian Andersen' (Macmillan), whose Life has been written by Miss Signe Toksvig. He was his own Ugly Duckling, ungainly, awkward, insistent, ambitious; yet throughout his life, it is clear, he had a charm which won hearts and the help he desperately needed. As a lad of fourteen, with a pouch full of dreams and little that was materially sustaining, he left his native Odense and found his way to Copenhagen; there to endure all kinds of disappointment until he won his way through, having interested the generous Collins family and others, even including the King; and lo, the Ugly Duckling was a (still ungainly) prince of fortune, with Denmark adoring him (while he

suffered the toothache). It is a romantic story, as truly a triumph for persistency as any told in the wrongly forgotten works of Dr Smiles; and no small part of the interest of the book—after those fruitless, awkward endeavours on Andersen's part to shine as actor, singer, and dancer—lies in the way in which, against his will, as it seems, he fell into the practice of writing the fairy-tales

which alone have made him immortal.

Many will find the late George Saintsbury's collected 'Prefaces and Essays' (Macmillan) more sustaining than were the series of Notes and Scrapbooks published in his declining years. It better represents his eagerness, his enormous range of intellectual sympathies (with their super-Tory restrictions), and his vigorous style. He had ever the courage of his opinions with possibly the inclination sometimes to venture farther along a challenging line than he really thought, or would have thought, had he paused a moment for consideration. In some such spirit. in this volume he takes up the cudgels for Poe and Longfellow as poets: though he is compelled to throw 'Excelsior' to the wolves. For the rest, he has it convincingly his own way; while the complete studies, here reprinted, of Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne especially, he does as well as within the limits they can be done. So excellent is Mr R. L. Mégroz's brochure. 'English Poetry for Children' (Fenland Press), that it might well have been expanded. The subject has never been sufficiently studied, and Mr Mégroz has done well in bringing out the essential truth that even the best of poet's second-best is not good enough for the children. Only his best, which must have sincerity and rhythmic music, will do; whether it be the nonsense of Lear, the fantasies of Mr de la Mare, the jollity of Mr Chesterton, the simplicities of Marion St John Webb, or the inspired realities of Blake. Tennyson's 'Minnie and Winnie,' and the great Wordsworth's 'intentionally simple 'rimes, as 'We are Seven,' will not do, because they misunderstood the spirit of childhood and were guilty the one of a sham sentiment, the other of a deliberate desire to improve. When Mr Mégroz resumes this work he might remember that solemn poetry-which may be sad to adults, but not to childrenif of simple sincerity and attractive cadence is excellent for them to recite and remember. We recall 'The Burial

of Sir John Moore ' and ' The Song of the Shirt ' as excel-

lent for all such purposes.

It was Hans Christian Andersen-was it not?-who told of a youth who, despite all the horrors that could be brought to haunt him, remained (until the end of the story) unable to shiver and shake. We have felt like that young man throughout the reading of Herr Desiderius Papp's 'Creation's Doom' (Jarrolds). It is earnest and determined, yet preposterous. The subject is the life and death, rise and fall, of our terrestrial globe during billions of years; after æons of illimitable darkness and lifelessness to quicken to such warmth and vitality as we of these generations have experienced—only to return it is little comfort to know that it must be billions of years hence !--to the original condition of darkness. It needed not Herr Papp to tell us all that. own imaginative men of science have been equally plain-speaking over the inevitable running-down of the pendulum of life of our own and all other systems of worlds. But they have not put it quite so blatantly. Of the prehistoric ages, for instance, Herr Papp asserts that 'insects flitted in the shadow of the ferns over the neighbouring swamps: they are titanophasmes, as big as our eagles.' How can he be sure of that? And later speaks of the coming day when, preparing for the increasing coldness of the Earth, scientists will be able 'to induce artificial coma under ice,' permitting the human subject to remain so 'even for decades, without injury.' He also discusses the possibility of a physicist igniting the atmosphere. There is a good deal of that sort of thing in the book, aided by shocker-pictures which do not quite appropriately illustrate the text. Yet in spite of the ingenuities we cannot shiver and shake. How different might have been the effect if a trained romanticist like Mr Wells had worked up this material. More convincing, in fact, and impressive, is Mr George Whitehead's 'Modern Outline of Evolution' (Bale, Sons and Danielsson). In simple lucidity, without drums or fireworks, beginning with our earliest forefather, the protoplasm and following the diversions and divagations of ever-changeful progress, he proceeds—well, not to the hopelessness of Herr Papp's conclusions, but to the further possible quickening of ideals in humanity, leading to such nobilities of heart and

mind, of aspirations and achievements, that this present chapter of civilisation would appear by comparison as a groping among mudheaps and factories. It is a noble end to a sincere book.

The life of the toad is no poem, as Maeterlinck with his imaginative indulgences suggested that the existence of the bee might be: or if it is so, then it needs other treatment than that exercised by M. Jean Rostard in his frankly realistic, 'Toads and Toad Life' (Methuen). A passionate creature this Batrachian which, as the introduction reminds us before we come to the detailed account of the resolute actualities of his life, has been a bane and a bogey to generations of ignorance and suffered cruel persecution in consequence. 'With no other creature,' said M. Bergson, 'has invention been more free.' Now comes the counterblast. Without any invention and in stark reality, we are told of the amours of the Common Toad, its significant three weeks of orgies, of the 6000 eggs which may be a result of one mating. but of which, as searching science has discovered, only one living offspring may survive. Happily so, for what would the world be like if Nature, who permits such extravagance of generation, were not ruthless in her saving destructiveness? Full and revealing are the contents of this book; fascinating if the reader is in the mood for it; but no poem.

With the expression 'Liberal Orthodoxy' Canon Spencer H. Elliott describes his position in the world of religious thought; and, as his little book 'The Missing Link' (Group Publications) shows, accepts all the assertions of the Bible, Old Testament and New, but explains them in a spirit of imaginative reasonableness. Here, then, we have the Book of Genesis, that Rock of Scripture which to recent criticism has appeared far from impregnable, justified as being of historical truth if its right character is recognised and the early chapters are accepted as poetry and allegory. In spite of the difficulties attending the imperative compression of the theme Canon Elliott deals well with Adam and Eve, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil-that earliest instance of taboo-but is not so happy when he comes to Abraham and his will to sacrifice his only son Isaac, or to the behaviour of Jacob, who, assuredly, through his

mean cunning and unscrupulousness could hardly have been tolerated in decent society anywhere. To a series of studies of religion which already contains interpretations of the teachings of Christ, Mohammed, Zoroaster, and Moses, Professor A. S. N. Wadia has added 'The Message of Krishna' (Dent), and this is the most valuable volume of them all; for so overridden is the gospel of the great Hindu teacher by rank idolatries and superstitions that the truth, beauty, and value of the faith as taught by Krishna have been lost beneath them, and Hinduism come to be regarded, not unjustly, by the inquiring West as cruel and debasing in its influence and hopeless of inspiration for the future. Professor Wadia has brought to the study of his subject a fresh mind, and he does rebuild with admirable lucidity a religious philosophy which, if it could be cleansed and revitalised, might vet help the East. But not the West, for its absorption in Brahm, its acceptance of the ideas of Attachment, Detachment. Reincarnation, and of Karma, are too peculiarly oriental to be helpful here.

It requires courage to write for publication a new 'textbook of hospitality,' although such works have been less frequent in the last fifty or so years than are guides to mere manners, social and personal. The Misses (or Mesdames) June and Doris Langlev-Moore have essaved the bold thing with 'The Pleasure of Your Company' (Howe), and proved successful, not only through the advice they give, which is entirely sensible and practicable, but through the charm and humour of their style. For them the task is easier than it would have been at almost any time earlier, as to be natural, simple, and thoughtful for others is almost rule enough for these easy-going days, while in the haughty eighties and (so-called) naughty nineties there were infinite restrictions, a positively iron system of etiquette, all-compelling. Every aspect of hospitality, it would appear, from the host's and the guest's points of view, is here set down, and those, the many, who do not need guidance in such ways still may read the book with amusement because it has good to give.

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